The Outlook

JUNE 28, 1922

HEN IS A LAW NOT A LAW

A MAN once famous for the quality of beer which he brewed recently traveled to Europe in a vessel wned and operated by the United States hipping Board. From the other side he ent back a pertinent query. He wanted know why it was illegal for him to ake beer, while the Government itself s in the market for German beers with nich to supply its vessels. He pointed is question by inclosing a copy of a st of drinks sold by the United tates Government on its own vessels—hen they had passed beyond the three-ile limit. To this question Mr. Lasker plied that he had an opinion from the torney-General's office that it was gal to sell such liquors beyond the ter-torial waters of the United States.

We have not the legal erudition of the ttorney-General's office, but we confess at such a statement bewilders us. der what selective principle is one w of the United States operative be-nd the three-mile limit and another w confined only to our territorial aters? We had always supposed that vessel was regarded as a floating sec-ion of the country whose flag it flew. f we are in error in this, how does it happen that the Congress of the United States ventures to prescribe the condi-ions under which American sailors all be employed when upon the high eas? The claim of the Shipping Board o the right of exemption from the olstead Act seems easily reducible to absurdity.

The real reason for claiming such an emption of course does not rest upon y principle of selective law. It is to found in the fact that the United tates Shipping Board vessels find it ard to compete for passengers with ves-ls of foreign countries legally entitled sell liquor. Even if the action of the ipping Board can be defended by a gal quibble, it is beneath the dignity the United States Government to take advantage of it. The time to discuss the ffect of prohibition upon our shipping was before, and not after, the passage f the Eighteenth Amendment. At that time we should have recognized the fact that we would have to forego the mone-tary advantage of selling liquor on our ships, just as we recognized the fact that we would have to forego the advantage of receiving millions from excise taxes if we were bent upon abolishing the liquor traffic. The alleged financial dis-advantage of prohibiting liquor in our merchant marine is another argument

Keystone

SMITH BROOKHART

in favor of the Governmental subsidy which Mr. Lasker and the President have requested from Congress. It is not an argument in favor of Governmental hypocrisy.

THE MEANING OF BROOKHART

THE nomination of Colonel Smith W. Brookhart in the Republican primary of the State of Iowa has affected the so-called Old Guard of the party in Washington and throughout the country with greater consternation than the victory of Beveridge in Indiana or Pinchot in Pennsylvania. Brookhart belongs well over on the left wing of the more radical element of the Republican party. He wishes the Railway Transportation Act repealed and the pumping out of what he alleges to be the seven billions of water from the securities of the roads. He belongs clearly to the rail-way radical group. He wishes the farmers to have representation on the Federal Reserve Board in proportion to their share in the primary deposits in the banks of the country. More wisely he believes in the fullest possible co-operative programme for both farmers and factory people, and in this we think he is sound. The development of the practice of co-operation on a large scale in this country is better as a method of getting things done than the increase in Governmental agencies with their enor-mous overhead, waste, inefficiency, and armies of civil servants.

Brookhart favors a soldiers' bonus, to be paid out of war profits and excess profits, and not out of a sales tax. He believes that the Newberry case should be reopened, and he is opposed to ship subsidies. He sifts out what he calls the "predatory blocs" and opposes them, but he favors the farmers' bloc, the labor bloc, the soldier bloc, the mothers' bloc, and all business blocs which co-operate with the preceding. He is eager for the retention of the direct primary as the best method of driving the "Non-Partisan League of Wall Street" from the State.

We thus recapitulate the issues through the discussion of which in the State of Iowa the nomination of Colonel Brookhart in the Republican primary was assured. There is more enthusiasm than wisdom in some parts of Colonel Brookhart's platform. But, however that may be, it is certain that the success of such a programme in the tremendously Republican State of Iowa is a warning light to the Administration at Washing-ton which it will do well not to ignore. Kindly offices of conciliation between contending interests and factions are not enough to meet National opinion and lead it into safe and wise chan-nels. A keen intelligence and vision and will power with respect to domestic affairs of great moment were never more needed than now in the Administration at Washington.

RADIO LEGISLATION

CONGRESSMAN WHITE, of Maine, has introduced in the House of Repre-sentatives a bill to amend the act of 1912 which regulates radio communica-tion. The present act, while it was ade-quate to meet conditions at the time it was enacted, has fallen far short of the requirements that have arisen with the marvelous development of radio during the past year. It was for the purpose of considering new conditions from every angle that Secretary Hoover, of the De-partment of Commerce, called, a few months ago, a conference of radio manu-facturers, distributers, and others inter-ested, and it is from the conclusions of that conference that the new bill was drawn.

It was realized that it would be quite impossible to pass statutory legislation that would be flexible enough to meet the ever-changing conditions of the new industry and science. Thus it is that, aside from declaring general principles, the determination of most of the factors that may be expected to arise in the dissemination and enforcement of reg-

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ulations is in this bill delegated to the Secretary of Commerce. To say to-day, for instance, what wave lengths shall be permissible to certain distributing stations and have those regulations applicable under specific law only a few months hence is quite out of the question. Only by constant observation by an official who can act can conditions be met in a manner that will allow the fullest possible development of radio and the least possible inconvenience and confusion to the millions who are in one way or another engaged in radio activities.

Provision is made for the issuance of licenses to stations sending radiograms or signals by telegraphy or telephony and for their abrogation by the Secretary. One feature of this provision is that no licenses shall be issued for a term of more than ten years. A condition of uncertainty that has existed under the present act as to whether the Secretary was compelled to grant licenses to all applicants is cleared, for the bill provides that he shall use his discretion in granting licenses, on the condition that such licenses shall be only to stations which are in the interest of the general public service. He is authorized specifically to refuse a license to any person, company, or corporation which, in his judgment, is seeking to monopolize radio communication directly or indirectly through the control of the manufacture or sale of radio apparatus or by any other means.

A new feature of the bill provides, as an assistance to the Secretary, for the appointment of an advisory committee to whom he shall refer for examination and report matters relating to administration or changes in the law, regulations, and treaties of the United States relating to radio communication; to study of the scientific problems involved in radio communication with the view of fostering its development; and to scientific progress in radio communication and use of radio communication.

The advisory committee is to consist of twelve members, one each to be designated by the Secretaries of State, War, Navy, Agriculture, and Commerce, the Postmaster-General, and six members of recognized attainment in radio communication not otherwise employed in the Government service to be designated by the Secretary of Commerce.

Finally, and as a new feature of radio legislation, the Secretary is authorized and directed to charge and, through the imposition of stamp taxes on applications, licenses, or other documents, or in other appropriate manner, to collect fees that are specified in a schedule that ranges from a maximum of $300 for a license for transoceanic radio down to a dollar for amateur first-grade radio operators' examination and fifty cents for amateur second-grade licenses.

CUBA'S TROUBLES

THE financial condition of Cuba is bad, not because the island is not richly endowed with natural resources or that it has serious industrial troubles, but because of bad financiering on the part of the Government, and even more perhaps because of corrupt practices among political office-holders. Two or three weeks ago American intervention was talked of in Cuba as not only possible, but probable. The situation has been relieved for the present by informal pressure brought to bear upon the Cuban Government by General Crowder, who is acting as an observer and informal representative of President Harding in Cuba. President Zayas, of Cuba, has so far yielded to General Crowder's influence and to the best American and Cuban sentiment that he has removed from office some of the men charged with irregularities. This does not get at the base of the trouble in Cuba, and very probably the situation will have to be dealt with more drastically in the future.

There is no doubt about the existence of dishonest officials, and some of them have been pretty high up in the Administration. Ex-President Menocal is reported in despatches as saying that when he lately came back from Europe he was shown proofs of wholesale graft and dishonesty; that he urged Zayas to clean house, but in vain; and that he does not believe that changing a few officials will meet the situation. General Crowder's position, as stated after the dismissal of certain officials, is that, politics or no politics, and despite Civil Service laws said to be in the way, "no man whose honesty is not beyond question and whose ability for the position is unproven shall be appointed to public office."

Most Americans understand that under the Platt Amendment to the treaty by which the United States made Cuba a free Republic the United States has the right to intervene in case Cuba shows herself incapable of preserving order or fails to meet her foreign debts. In point of fact, the United States has intervened, has restored peace and order, and has again set the Cuban Republic going. If intervention should take place now, in all probability it would be of an amicable kind and would not involve military measures unless resistance were made by radical factions. What would most probably be done would be that we should take over the Custom-House, the Treasury, and the oversight of public works. We are told by a correspondent of The Outlook now in Havana that Cuba has paid interest on her external loans, but that many millions of dollars of interest on internal loans remain unpaid, and in that sense Cuba is semi-bankrupt, while the police and postal employees are left unpaid, and directors of public works find Government warrants unhonored.

All the information points to the belief that this deplorable state of affairs would be quite unnecessary under an economic, intelligent, and honest Government, and that, while Dr. Zayas desires to have such a Government, he has been driven by his political debts to allow gross abuses to take root and grow until they have produced a serious condition.

LENINE'S WITHDRAWAL: WHAT WILL FOLLOW?

THE questions most asked in Russia to-day are as to who will replace Lenine and what will be the effect of his withdrawal from office. The fact that no single person has been able to command such support among the Soviets as to be allowed to take up the reins that have fallen from Lenine's hands shows that a critical and complicated state of affairs exists in Moscow.

All sorts of rumors have come about Lenine from time to time for months—that he was dead, that he was perfectly well, that he was suffering from poisoned bullet wounds, and so on. His physical condition, it is now admitted, is decidedly bad; it may be indirectly connected with a wound received long ago, but is largely a nervous breakdown due to worry and overwork. It seems certain that he will not resume the Premiership for many months to come, if ever. It is an interesting commentary on the situation that George Tchitcherin, the former Bolshevist figure at Genoa and probably the ablest man as regards foreign affairs among the Bolsheviks, remains in Germany, evidently more than doubtful of his reception in Moscow under the new conditions. It is said that both Tchitcherin and Krassin are afraid that Lenine's approval of them makes their position in Russia dangerous.

There is no indication as yet that Lenine's withdrawal has modified the absurd and vicious ideas which have prevailed in Moscow; that it may ultimately do so is quite possible. Lenine was in great measure the author of the theory of the autocracy of the proletariat. He was a fanatic in his adherence to that theory, and authorized any acts of violence that seemed necessary to keep it going. Absurd and wicked as fundamentally the theory is, he maintained it with considerable intellectual ability, and the prestige he obtained among soldiers, industrial workmen, and even among many of the peasants was

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SLOW AS THE ELEPHANT

(Troilus and Cressida, Act I, Scene 2)

Bushnell for the Central Press Association

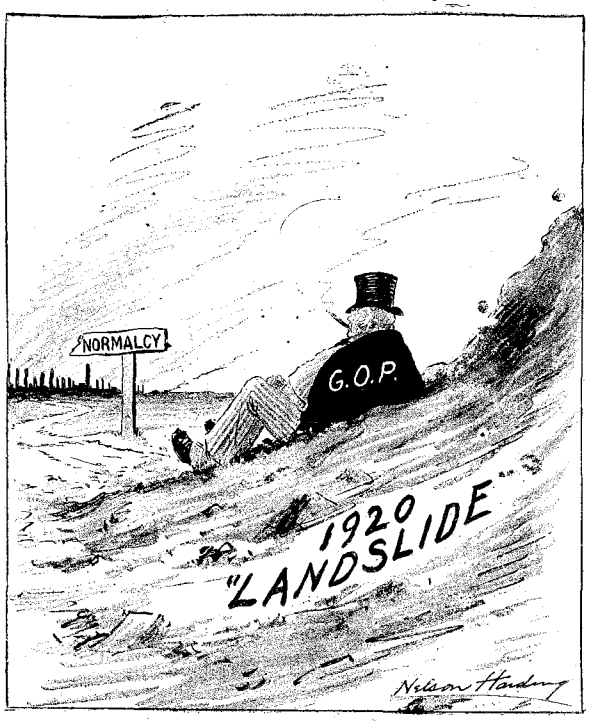
CHEER UP, G. O. P., THE FISHING SEASON HAS ONLY BEGUN!

Darling in the Washington Herald

POLITICAL UNREST

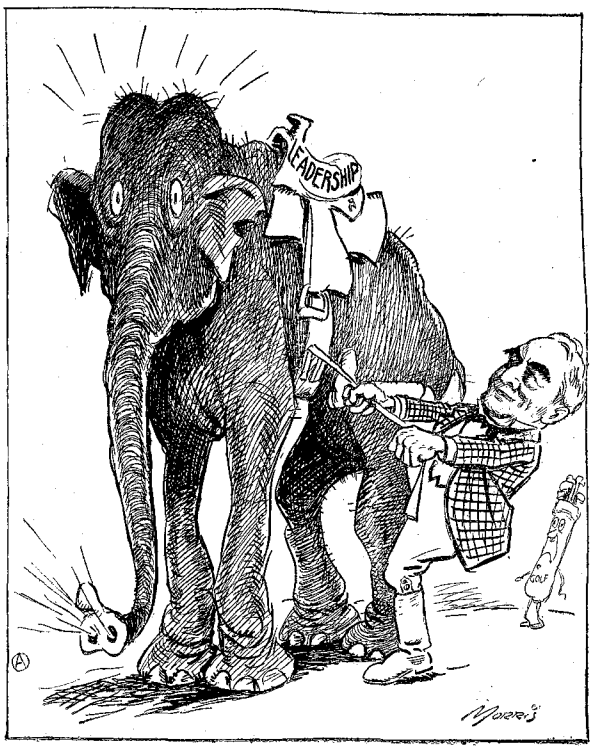
From Julius J. H. Hayn, Buffalo, N. Y.

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



CAN'T DEPEND ON A LANDSLIDE TO CARRY YOU ALL THE WAY

Morris for the George Matthews Adams Service



THE PRESIDENT DECIDES TO TAKE UP RIDING

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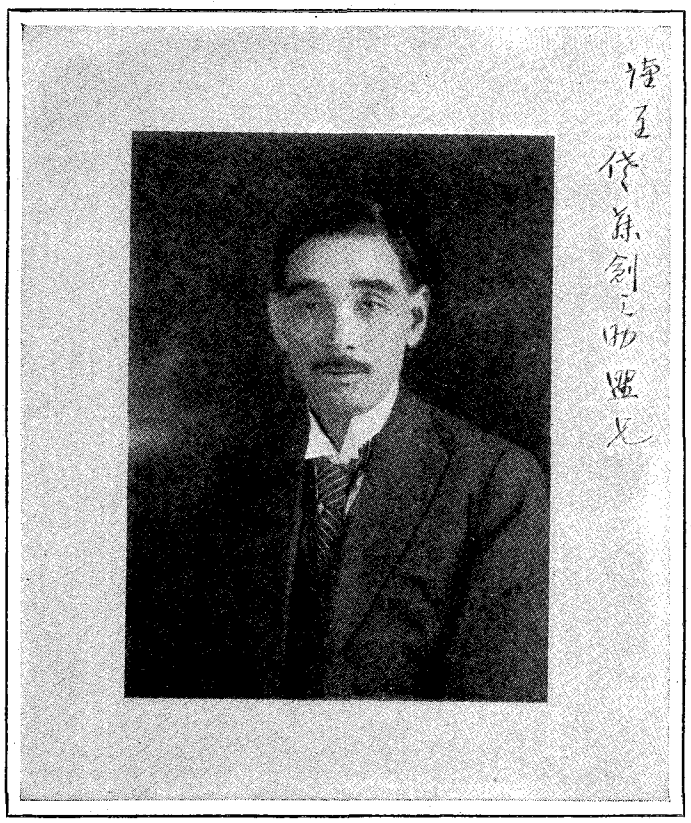

MR. NAOMICHI OSHIMA, COUNSELOR AND CHIEF INSPECTOR OF THE JAPANESE DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

much greater than that of any other Soviet leader. Most people believe that both Tchitcherin and Krassin are abler men, but they have not Lenine's popularity among the extremists, while Trotsky is chiefly an organizer and executive agent who shrinks from nothing. It would seem reasonable at least to hope that if Lenine is out altogether there should be some gradual lessening of the grip held over the people of Russia by the brute force exercised through soldiers and agents by the centralized Soviet Government, which has not now and never had any mandate from the people at large.

TEACHABLE JAPAN

WHATEVER the change in the Japanese Government may be, there remains unchanged the Japanese thirst for knowledge of other nations. One of the most dramatic contrasts in history is that between the hermit life of Japan for generations and the eager interest of Japan in other peoples, characteristic of her modern period. Indeed, it may have been the very capacity of the Japanese to respond to foreign influences that caused the Shogun to shut out foreigners from Japan for so many years. Japan's language and literature and religion are just as truly derived from foreign sources as the language, literature, and religion of America are. And to-day no country surpasses Japan in the search for the best that other countries can give her.

One of the recent eminent visitors to this country is Mr. Naomichi Oshima, Counselor and Chief Inspector of the Japanese Department of Home Affairs, who recently sailed from New York after investigating some of the social and economic problems of America and who is now continuing his investigation of social and economic problems in Europe. He is a graduate of the Tokyo Imperial University, where he studied political science. Immediately after his graduation he entered the Government service and, after filling several subordinate offices, was appointed the Vice-Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture. After a few years by promotion he became second Superintendent-General of the Police, and then, finally, Counselor to the Minister of Home Affairs and Chief Inspector of the Provincial and Local Governments. He is an influential man in the Seiyukai party.

Japan's sudden rise from obscurity to a position where she is one of the three great naval Powers in the world is due to her eagerness to learn from all sources, and her skill in sending students of life, of customs, and inventions to all parts of the world that they may gather knowledge of the best that men have achieved and bring their knowledge back to their country. In this respect Japan is worthy of imitation.

MOVING TOWARD AN IRISH FREE STATE

THE elections held in Southern Ireland last week afford a favorable indication of the future of the Irish Free State. In a way, the elections were prearranged; that is, under the agreement reached some weeks ago between the two factions of the Sinn Fein, there was a compact as to candidates who should be supported by both factions so that the result would be a total made up in some such proportion as had also been agreed upon as to the composition of the Ministry. Thus when we see allusions in the accounts of the elections of the "panel" candidates it is much as we might say in this country, "The slate will go through." Many independent candidates ran, however; and the results in these cases seem to have favored the Free State Party rather than the Republican Party. Altogether a good working majority will exist for the liberal as opposed to the "die hard" party. The vote has not been fully analyzed as we write; the matter is complicated by the fact that a sort of proportionate representation system of voting was included in that voters indicated second preferences. This affects particularly the independent vote cast by the Labor Party, and it is said that that vote stands at least three to one in favor of the Free State.

The body to which members have thus been elected is variously spoken of in the despatches as a new Provisional Parliament, a new Dail Eireann, and a Constitutional Assembly. In point of fact, it will partake of the nature of all three. It will presumably ratify the Constitution agreed upon by the British Government and the present provisional Irish Free State Ministry; it will then present this to the popular electorate for further ratification, and thereafter a permanent Free State Government will be set up.

All this, however, is provided that the Republican minority does not bolt, refuse to consider any kind of peace compromise, and encourage and maintain its so-called Republican army.

THE IRISH CONSTITUTION

THE proposed Constitution of the Irish Free State declares itself to be "the Constitution of a free democratic state." It puts into form and substance the agreement known as the London Treaty. Constitution and treaty alike set up in Southern Ireland a Dominion known as the Irish Free State which in all its broad principles and in many details conforms to the Dominion of Canada and is part of "the British Commonwealth of Nations"—a phrase used purposely in the Constitution instead of "the British Empire." It is a very modern form of government, for it contains provisions for woman suffrage, proportional representation, a referendum, and the power of initiative. It exempts the

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Free State from participation in foreign war except with the consent of its own Parliament or in case of actual invasion; it provides for freedom of religion and conscience and contains what is equivalent to a bill of rights. The Free State may maintain its own army, and it is pointed out that this goes further than is the case with Canada, which acknowledges the supreme command of military forces to rest with the Crown. The Free State will have an Executive Council, appointed by its Governor-General, but the Council will be responsible to the Irish Chamber of Deputies, which corresponds to our House of Representatives, and the President of the Council, who will really be a premier, will be chosen by the Deputies.

The points in the Constitution which have provoked most dissension from extremists are two. One relates to the oath of allegiance to be taken by the representatives; the other relates to the fact that appeal lies in certain matters from the Irish Government to the Crown; just the same thing exists in Canada, but the opponents of the provision point out that it is a dead letter in Canada, while they do not feel sure that it will be in Ireland. These and other objections are not fiercely urged, and, in general, the proposed Constitution seems to have met with almost surprising approval in Ireland itself.

It would be dangerous to predict anything regarding the future of the Irish question, but the recent events give hope and courage to those who believe in the possibility of representative self-government in Southern Ireland.

THE QUEEN OF JUGOSLAVIA

(C) Underwood

THE ROYAL WEDDING AT BELGRADE

WHEN a charming princess marries a popular young king, it is not hard to believe that there really is an element of romance as well as a political motive in the alliance. King Alexander of Serbia, and therefore of Jugoslavia, is described as a proud, studious, and well-behaved young man, in all of which respects he differs from his elder brother, Prince George, who renounced his royal rights in 1909, or, as we sometimes say of men who are ousted from their business or political relations, "resigned by request."

There was every evidence in the rejoicing and enthusiasm on June 8 at Belgrade that both the King and his Queen, Marie of Rumania, are thoroughly liked by the common people. It is also true that the marriage is likely to be of value in maintaining peaceful relations in the Balkans. Although some fifty thousand troops were concentrated in the capital, there was no disturbance, and, apart from the possibility of violence by rabid fanatics or Anarchists, no danger of disturbance. The beautiful ceremonies of the Greek Church were performed under the leadership of the Patriarch, and in all respects the wedding was brilliant even among royal weddings.

That a permanent friendship may be assured between Rumania and Jugoslavia by this royal marriage is confidently hoped. The present Queen of Rumania is a woman of great ability and energy—indeed, some persons have nicknamed her the "Mother-in-Law of the Balkans." Her influence has had a great deal to do with bringing about this marriage.

Serbia certainly deserves all the peace and happiness that can come to her; she has emerged from the condition of a small kingdom in danger from Austrian domination and greed to the proud position of being the predominant country in the combination of Serbs, Slovenes, and Croats that make up the relatively powerful realm of Jugoslavia. The courage and determination with which Serbia fought against the fate that Austria tried to impose upon her in 1914 will always remain one of the ennobling and resplendent memories of the Great War.

We may now rightly forget the horror with which the world greated the tragedy of 1903, when King Alexander, his Queen, four other persons of distinction, and some fifty officers and soldiers were assassinated, with brutal circumstances, by political conspirators. It was after this assassination that the dynasty of the Karageorgevitches was restored and King Peter, father of the present young King Alexander, was placed on the throne. It was a long time before all of the European nations were willing to recognize the new Government set up as the result of revolution. But this feeling gradually passed away as King Peter showed qualities of a vigorous and courageous ruler and led his people into war with skill and courage. The present King won the title of Peacemaker because of his efforts to unite in common ambition and purpose the peoples now under the Jugoslavia rule and to better the political conditions in the Balkans at large. Alexander succeeded to the throne last year, immediately after the death of King Peter at the age of seventy-six. Alexander's own record in the Great War was brilliant and valuable to the Allies' cause. He had been Regent since 1914, and more than one attempt has been made to assassinate him.

TWO VETERAN COLLEGE ALUMNI

CORNELIUS COLE, of the class of 1847 of Wesleyan University, of Middletown, Connecticut, came last week from the far-away land of California to receive an honorary degree of the ninetieth Commencement of his Alma Mater. Seventy-five years ago this month Cornelius Cole received his Baccalaureate degree. He is to celebrate his one hundredth birthday in September. He is the oldest member of the Psi Upsilon college fraternity in the United States, and of course the oldest living alumnus of Wesleyan.

One President of the United States was dead when Cornelius Cole was born, but his life has run parallel with every other one of them since the foundation of the Republic. He was a member of the House of Representatives in the last year of the Civil War. He was a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. He was one of the party which accompanied Lincoln to Gettysburg for the dedication of the National Cemetery. He was the last survivor of the United States Senators who took part in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. He was born in New York State, but was an original "Forty-niner" in the gold fields of California. It was from California that he was elected to the House, and later to the

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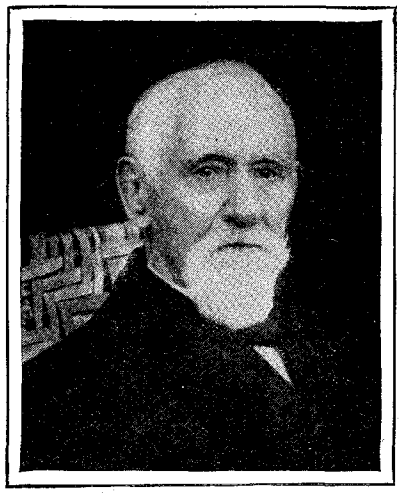
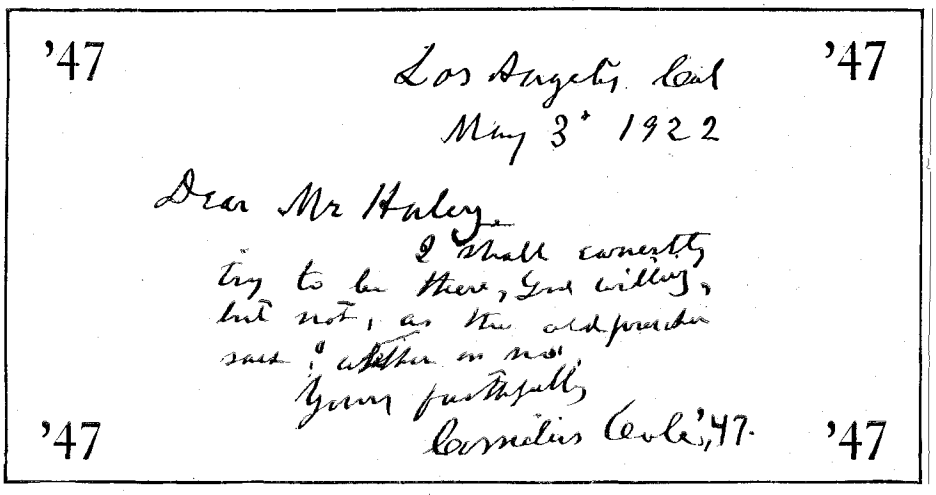


CORNELIUS COLE, WESLEYAN '47



'47 Los Angeles Cal '47
May 3d 1922

Dear Mr Haley—
I shall earnestly try to be there, God willing, but not, as the old preacher said "whether or no".
Yours faithfully
Cornelius Cole '47.

'47 '47

A CENTENARIAN ACCEPTS AN INVITATION TO HIS CLASS REUNION—THE LETTER IS REPRINTED FROM THE "WESLEYAN ALUMNUS"

Senate, where he served from 1867 to 1873 during the Johnson and Grant Administrations. He has lived in California nearly the entire three-quarters of a century, and is still practicing in that State his profession of the law, going alone on the street car to his office every day just as he did in his prime.

The memory of his warm friendship with Lincoln is a passion with Mr. Cole. "Lincoln never showed any ill will, or fear, or anger in all his life, so far as I know," says this sage and patriarch. He also corroborates from his own definite personal recollection the generally accepted historical record of the Gettysburg address. He says that only a small crowd gathered about noon for the ceremony. The speakers were seated on a rude wooden platform. Edward Everett finished his polished oration, which few now know anything about. Then awkwardly, in the midst of an impressive silence, Abraham Lincoln stepped to the front of the platform. He began quietly, and finished suddenly with the never-to-be-forgotten phrase concerning a government of the people. Then he turned and took his seat, to the astonishment of every one. The small audience was dismayed at his brevity. Nobody present seemed to appreciate for the moment the beauty of the speech, or to have any instinctive sense of the fame which would follow it.

Another man who figured in an interesting way in recent college Commencement exercises is Dr. Stephen Smith, of Staten Island, who received the honorary degree of Doctor of Science from Columbia. He graduated from Columbia in 1850, and is within a few months of completing his hundredth year. Dr. Smith was called by President Butler "the most interesting figure in American medicine and in American public service to-day." He was founder and first President of the American Public Health Association, and is noted for his work in local and National boards of health, in sanitation, and in other public health matters, and is still active despite his all but completed centenary.

THE ATTACK OF SENATOR LA FOLLETTE ON THE SUPREME COURT

EARLY in our National life Chief Justice Marshall enunciated in Marbury *vs.* Madison the right of the Supreme Court of the United States to nullify a law of Congress which the Court believed to be in contravention of the Federal Constitution. At the time there was a wide difference of opinion in the country over the decision. Jefferson and his followers attacked it with great virulence. Unquestionably it is a judicial power which is unique, but the decision of Marshall has been sustained by the public opinion of the United States for more than a hundred years.

The reason appears to be twofold. The Supreme Court of the United States has only upon rare occasions proved itself to be without vision, inflexible and reactionary. On the contrary, it has increasingly interpreted the course of National life, not only in terms of vital Constitutional principle, but in terms of normal human progress. We have had a Dred Scott decision, and a number of five-to-four hesitancies upon grave questions of public policy, but by and large the Supreme Court has been supported by the faith and confidence of the American people. The National Congress, on the other hand, has progressively declined in the estimation of the country. It is a curious anomaly of popular government that the representative branch should so often have failed in reputation as compared with the judicial branch exercising unusually exalted powers.

Nevertheless protests against alleged judicial usurpation by the Supreme Court have never been lacking. The errors and bias of some of the State courts and of the inferior Federal courts have been sufficiently marked so that from time to time large numbers of the people of the country have been aroused in opposition to the overlordship of the Constitution by the judiciary. In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt stirred the Nation by his widely misunderstood doctrine of the recall of judicial decisions. Roosevelt went out of his way to make clear that his confidence and the confidence of the country were not shaken in the Supreme Court of Washington, but rather in the State courts, which were blocking the wheels of progress upon issues exceedingly important to the welfare of the American people. He maintained that the people of the State, who made their Constitution, were entitled to decide by referendum upon what they meant by their Constitution in extraordinary cases of reasonable doubt. The Roosevelt contention, at least in the form in which it was understood, did not meet with the approval of the country, but it is widely known that his free and vigorous criticisms of judicial methods have exercised an indirect influence upon the minds of our judges and courts which is likely to be of permanent value.

Senator La Follette appealed the other day before the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for a Constitutional Amendment making it possible for Congress to overcome an unfavorable decision of the Supreme Court by re-enacting the law after the decision. This is something after the fashion of the present English method of overcoming an unfavorable consideration of Parliamentary measures by the House of Lords. The House of Commons ultimately becomes supreme by re-enacting the measure. Under American conditions and with a knowledge of our history to guide us, it seems that the adoption of anything analogous to the Brit-

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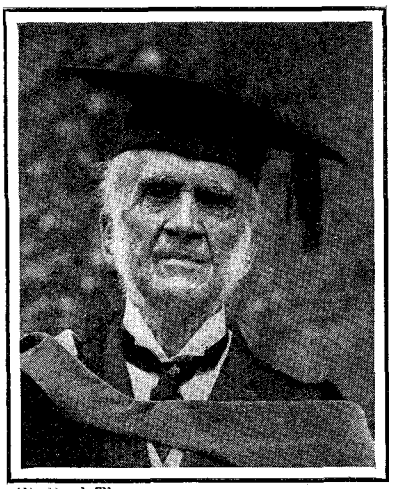

(C) Paul Thompson

STEPHEN SMITH, COLUMBIA '50

ish method would be dangerously revolutionary. It is essential that we keep the Supreme Court as a check upon hasty and ill-advised action by Congress. Those who are most anxious to preserve our Governmental system as it has developed cannot afford to ignore the feeling which underlies so radical and subversive a plea as that of Senator La Follette. These sporadic uprisings of popular sentiment against what are regarded as unprogressive and illiberal finalities of the Supreme Court should warn the Court itself of the ever-present danger to its existence as a necessary check upon Congress in our Governmental system.

The La Follette manifesto, as well as that of President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, is leveled against the recent Coronado and child labor decisions of the Court. So far as the Coronado decision is concerned, Mr. Gompers and his group criticise everything which seems to them to injure the laboring class. As a matter of fact, the Coronado decision endangers it only in the sense that the labor leadership under Gompers has steadily arrogated to the laboring class certain peculiar privileges of action which do not stand the test of scrutiny from the point of view of the National welfare. On the other hand, the child labor decisions of the Court appear to us to rest upon uncertain foundations. The whole country wishes to do away with the evils of child labor. No one State can control the policies of another State. It cannot erect a barrier against unfair competition from the child labor of another State, and now the Supreme Court avers that the Federal Government can do nothing, either. An enlightened State which is interested more in the conservation of childhood than in child exploitation for profit must pay the penalty and be subject to the flood of child labor products into its own area, to the economic disadvantage of its own producing citizens. We cannot help feeling that here is an instance where a clearer vision and a profounder mental grasp on the part of the Court would have found a way of reconciling legislation with Constitutional precedent and of making judicial decision interpretative of the will of the people.

THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT

NO one can doubt the evils of sectarianism. They are abundant and only too evident. Half a dozen churches in a village do feebly a common work which, if they were working together, they might do with strength. Money is spent almost uselessly in maintaining separate church organizations at home which is sorely needed in doing the too often neglected work of the Church abroad. Each church is tempted to put its emphasis on its own pet doctrine or symbol, to the neglect of truths and duties the importance of which all recognize in theory rather than in practice. Hostility between the churches is mostly a thing of the past, but the emulation between the churches is not always an emulation in works of charity and mercy. And the great world without, which admires strength, looks with indifference and sometimes with contempt on churches whose feebleness seems to non-churchmen to be due wholly to immaterial differences.

But those in the Church who are attempting to cure these evils by making out of these fragments a united Church, with one theological creed, one form of worship, and one ecclesiastical order, appear to me to have short memories. They forget the greater evils which have always resulted when churchmen have endeavored to secure unity of the spirit by uniformity in doctrine and worship. The Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages insisted on one creed, one ritual, and one authority; the result was the Inquisition. The Greek Church pursued the same course, though less successfully, and the religion of Greece and Russia is the result—life sacrificed to form. The Anglican Church repeated the attempt; the despotism of Laud rivaled that of Strafford, and the persecution of the Scotch Covenanters was scarcely less atrocious than the Roman persecution of the Albigenses. The Puritans got a brief period of control; the worship with a Prayer-Book, made compulsory under Charles I, became a crime under Cromwell. The Pilgrims and the Friends advocated real religious liberty, but whether they would have continued to advocate it if they had possessed the power of the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican, or the Puritan may be questioned. From the days of Caiaphas to the present day ecclesiastical power has stimulated ecclesiastical ambition. The problem of the Church is not merely how to bring about union. The evils of disunion are feebleness; the problem of the churches is how to achieve a union which will bring power without sacrificing liberty.

The advocates of Church unity might well learn a lesson from the political history of the world. Unity of spirit and division of authority has, I think, without exception been a condition of political freedom. England is a union of what were once independent kingdoms, but county government has survived the union and imposes limits on the power of Parliament none the less real that they are not defined by a written Constitution. The British Empire affords a striking illustration of power combined with liberty. The Established Church in England is Episcopal; in Scotland the Established Church is Presbyterian; and in Ireland, Canada, and Australia there is no Established Church. The union of free States in a free Republic is not less strikingly illustrated by the United States. It is a spiritual unity—that is, a unity of free men in a free Nation. "It was a true instinct which led the framers of the Constitution to begin with the statement: 'We the people of the United States.' It was the individual citizens who could unite, and not the 'States.' The same is true of the churches. The various churches cannot unite, though they may co-operate and associate themselves for more effective work."

In these words Dr. Leighton Parks admirably states in his recent volume, "The Crisis of the Churches," the problem of Church unity. In a single sentence in another part of the volume he states it with equal clearness and greater brevity: "The only possible way in which religious men can be held together is by substituting loyalty to Christ for theological agreement."[1] This book appears to have been written especially for the clergy or the lay churchmen of his own communion. Its size will probably limit its circulation to that constituency. I wish that he could be induced to make out of it a volume about the size of Dr. Fosdick's "Meaning of Prayer," addressed to the laymen of all communions. The movement for Church unity must first be won among the laity.

The fact that the rector of St. Bar-

[1] The Crisis of the Churches. By Leighton Parks, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

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tholomew's Church, one of the most influential and active of the Protestant churches in New York City, has devoted a volume to the elucidation of this truth, is one of the hopeful signs of the times; in my thinking, far more hopeful than the hitherto vain endeavor to find some common ecclesiastical ground on which all Christians can unite in a common organization. The Roman Catholics will not accept the Episcopal orders, Episcopalians will not renounce them; the Friends will not accept the Episcopal sacraments, nor the Episcopalians receive into their communion those who do not; the Baptists will not accept infant baptism, nor will the non-Baptists repudiate it. The Nicene Creed is doubted by some excellent Christians, and to many its phrases are meaningless; probably a large majority of the clergy of Protestant churches disbelieve in the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, which all Catholics—whether Greek, Roman, or Anglican—regard as vital to organic unity. Union based on creed, ritual, or orders is quite impossible of accomplishment, even if it were desirable.

But there is nothing to prevent the churches anywhere, at any time, in any place, from uniting in a common work, bound together in a spiritual fellowship by a common purpose. The way to such a unity has already been marked out for the churches by the unity in Christian work and Christian fellowship in the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. There is no reason why in any village where there is a Baptist church, a Methodist church, an Episcopal church, and a Friends meeting the worshipers should not continue to worship according to their various tastes and temperaments, but unite in their public service to the community. And there is no *good* reason why we might not look forward to the time when one village church should become broad enough to hold an early communion every Sabbath morning at half-past eight, a full service of prayer and preaching at eleven o'clock, a Prayer-Book service at four o'clock, and a Friends meeting in the evening. Queen Victoria, I believe, attended the Episcopal Church in England and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. It is not too much to hope that American Christians will in time become as broad as the English Queen.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

WE FORGET THE ELEMENTS

CIVILIZATION has a way of forgetting the elemental forces of nature, but the forces are not asleep merely because we choose to ignore them. Sometimes when our backs are turned they strike us down like the sudden and secret spring of a panther.

At least to civilized man the blow seems to come without warning. But those who have not forgotten all the lore of simpler times—those who know the ways of the winds and the waves—are not so often caught off their guard. If the blow comes, they can at least meet it face to face.

A short while ago a storm swept over the metropolis. When it passed, it left half a hundred dead in its wake. Many of those who died lost their lives in open boats in the waters surrounding New York. The newspapers wrote headlines concerning the catastrophe which painted it as an unforeseeable disaster. Any one who knew the actual conditions of the day of the storm must have been certain that much of the loss of life could easily have been avoided by very simple precautions. The storm itself was not a local disturbance. It had been sweeping eastward across the country for many hours. Even to those who had no access to the weather reports the sky itself might have given adequate warning, but city folk cannot read the heavens and there was no Governmental agency to see that they did not suffer for their ignorance.

New Yorkers are likely to remember this storm and forget the lesson. We wonder if other communities faced by similar conditions can profit by New York's loss. Wherever city-bred people foregather in open boats for recreation there should first be a rigid inspection of the craft offered for hire and perhaps a drastic cutting down of the present number of passengers which such craft are permitted to carry.

The Police Department, or some similar agency, should have the power to prohibit the renting of boats on days when danger is in the air. At least there should be police launches enough to carry warnings to those who are ignorantly endangering their lives. The storm signal system should be extended to give warning of weather which might endanger the safety of small boats, even though it carries no threat to more seaworthy craft.

There are many lakes, rivers, and bays in the neighborhood of large cities where lessons of the New York disaster might be taken to heart, but we do not venture to hope that they will be so applied.

A PRIVATE DISPUTE AND A PUBLIC CALAMITY

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON BY WILLIAM P. HELM, JR.

THE people of the United States are facing a certain shortage of anthracite coal next winter. The damage was done during the three months of April, May, and June, and there is no longer speculation as to the result. Under no conceivable set of circumstances will there be enough hard coal for everybody when winter comes. If all the anthracite mines were to resume work to-morrow and work at full capacity, they could not produce sufficient coal to avert the shortage.

The bituminous-coal situation hasn't gone quite so far to the bad, but is on its way there with a whoop. The bare boards are showing at the bottom of the consumers' stock piles. Within the next two weeks stocks will touch the danger line of 20,000,000 tons. When that line is passed, industries will begin to close down. The non-union mines, in clover for the past three months, can't bring enough coal to the surface to keep all American industries going. At our present rate of industrial consumption, non-union mines can supply from sixty to seventy per cent of what is needed. The other thirty to forty per cent of our reviving industries temporarily must go out of business. Either that or all industry will average about four days a week working time.

That looks like an overdrawn picture; but it isn't. Cold figures of production and requirements do not lie. Moreover, they are known quantities, not guesswork. The Federal Government takes their measure, and for years has come within two or three per cent of the truth in its preliminary estimates. A certain shortage of anthracite and a probable shortage of bituminous are what the figures show, handle them as we may.

In the face of this prospect, about 500,000 workmen and 3,000 mine owners, solely responsible for the present situation, continue with unabated ardor the quarrel which brought it about. Indeed, in the anthracite industry the quarrel has intensified. It is more acute to-day than it was April 1. A nation's comfort, welfare, and prosperity have been flouted, disregarded, and subordinated to a private dispute over a day's wage.

In the bituminous industry the only apparent improvement since the day work stopped has been, at this writing, a whisper that miners and operators in Ohio and Illinois may get together after

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a time to see if they cannot reach a mutually satisfactory basis for resuming work.

With unexampled patience the Federal Government has kept hands off the fight. An energetic Cabinet official, acting as public protector, has checked, apparently, the tendency to profiteer in such rations of coal as are available. Even at that, only eighty per cent of the working operators are with him. But Congress has taken no action. Apparently it has trusted the warring elements to realize, without coercion, their responsibility to the public which makes possible their economic life. Thus far its trust has not been justified.

There are rumblings, however, on Capitol Hill that tell of the gathering storm of public displeasure. The storm will break, in the writer's opinion, when the actual pinch becomes acute. For three years and more the coal industry has thwarted all attempts at Federal regulation. It has brooked no suggestion that it account to the United States. It has defied Frelinghuysen, Calder, Kenyon, and La Follette, not to mention numerous men of lesser stature. It has weathered five Government inquiries. It seems to lead a charmed life of immunity; but the charm will be worked overtime shortly. There is growing wrath in Congress at the wrong being wrought upon the public in these weeks of returning prosperity, and that wrath is fermenting and effervescing and threatening explosion at any time.

Summed up, that is the situation as this article is written, on June 19. Up to that date the public generally had not felt the coal strike. No one needed anthracite to heat his house, and when the strike began industries were abundantly stocked with bituminous. Besides, there was non-union soft coal to be had by the shop or factory; and the householder, if he wanted to lay in a stock, had no difficulty in obtaining anthracite. Freight rates were cut ten per cent, effective July 1; and the miners' contention for a war-time wage or more seemed unsound and likely to fail. The consumer, expecting lower prices, felt justified in his waiting attitude.

There are two classes of coal consumers. By far the more numerous is the householder. He and his Canadian neighbor buy all the anthracite coal mined except about thirty per cent that goes into small sizes, used mainly for industrial purposes.

Supplying this demand are anthracite mines, all located in a small field in Pennsylvania and with a limited producing capacity. They have never exceeded 100,000,000 tons in any year; their recent low-production figure was 86,000,000 tons. An average might be fixed at about 91,000,000 tons. In no single week has production gone much higher than 2,000,000 tons. Present producing equipment has set this limit, apparently, upon the mines.

Because of Sundays, holidays, and other causes, the average working year is about 260 days, or an average of five days a week, fifty-two weeks a year.

Both anthracite and bituminous producers begin their coal year April 1. It has become the trade custom for various contributing causes, none of which is pertinent to this article.

On July 1 thirteen weeks of the present coal year will have passed. During that period the anthracite mines have been shut down tight. During the remaining thirty-nine weeks, therefore, the entire year's output of 91,000,000 tons (less stocks carried over in anthracite operators' storage yards April 1) must be produced to avert a shortage. While stocks carried over have never been made public as to total tonnage, they will hardly exceed 10,000,000 tons. Indeed, it is doubtful if they approach that figure.

Eighty-one million tons must be produced, at least, to meet the year's demand, and there remain thirty-nine weeks in which to do the job. If the job were done, beginning July 1, the anthracite mines would have to produce more than 2,000,000 tons a week every week from that date to April 1 next. It can't be done, because it is a physical impossibility to do it.

The misery of an anthracite-coal shortage, therefore, is upon us. The extent of the suffering will be gauged by the length of time the anthracite mines are permitted to remain idle.

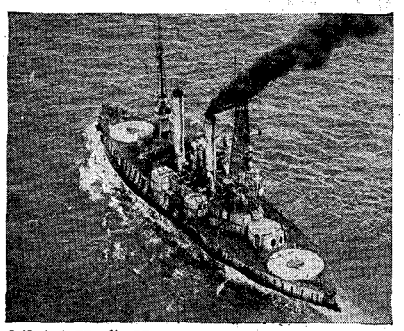
Bituminous-coal mines are limited chiefly by car supply. During the thirteen weeks of the strike the non-union mines have produced about 59,000,000 tons, which, added to the great stock pile of 63,000,000 tons April 1, gives us a total of 122,000,000 tons as representing stocks and production. Consumption during that period has been not less than 7,500,000 tons weekly—probably 8,000,000. Using the lower figures, however, to be conservative, total consumption has approximated 98,000,000 tons, leaving the stock pile at 24,000,000 tons July 1.

The average weekly consumption of bituminous coal the year round, at our present rate of industrial activity, is estimated by Geological Survey officials at 8,000,000 tons, or 416,000,000 tons for the year, slightly in excess of last year's production. A calculation, taking into consideration a safety stock of 20,000,000 tons, shows that in the thirty-nine remaining weeks of the coal year, assuming the mines were to resume July 1, bituminous coal must be mined at an average rate of not less than 9,000,000 tons a week.

That task is possible. A shortage would be felt, however, because of the rush of orders during the summer and fall. That, too, is the season when New England and the Northwest stock their coal for winter, taking it by water while water transportation is good. To meet demand from July to November 1 bituminous mines must produce not less than 10,500,000 tons a week, and, while that can be done, it is extremely difficult. That was about the average two years ago, when other industries were stripped of cars to carry coal, when whole States felt the shortage and coal soared to robber's prices.

But as resumption of mining, anthracite or bituminous, is unlikely July 1, the foregoing is ultra-conservative. In other words, the almost certain prospect of unheated homes and offices, shivering women and babies, shut-down industries and crippled transportation, isn't a true picture because it falls short of what is in store for us as the result of this little dispute over a day's wage in a private industry.

Washington, D. C., June 19, 1922.



Official U. S. Navy

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE RADIO-CONTROLLED BATTLESHIP IOWA

The ship is here shown steaming along without a soul on board, all her movements being directed from the battleship Ohio, twelve miles away. Can one conceive of a more generous gift to those engaged in ocean-borne commerce than this business of radio control, where a leading ship of a commercial fleet may take a number of cargo carriers across the ocean with the crew of one?

"WHAT are we going to do with our superannuated navigators? Radio is putting them out of business. For in a comparatively short time the navigator who boards his ship carefully carrying a mahogany-encased sextant and with a 'Bowditch' tucked under his arm will be as out of date and as comical as the old straw-chewing rube of the vaudeville stage, ambling along the canyons of New York, carrying his ancient carpetbag and green umbrella.

"The gentlemanly navigator of tomorrow is a radio engineer. He sits at a mahogany table in a comfortable office on his modern ship, smoking fat cigars, pressing neat pearl-topped buttons, and letting 'King Radio' do the rest. One button tells the depth of water under the keel; another, the distance and direction to the nearest ship, and of all ships within a radius of twenty-five miles; a series of buttons reveals the nearest land, the distance to it, the course to reach it, and fixes the ship's position on the surface of old ocean. All these fancy navigational 'stunts' are easily explained—the apparatus which does the business is now in daily use, and is functioning accurately."

This is the prophecy of Lieutenant Clifford Albion Tinker, U. S. N., whose article "Radio and the Navigator" will appear in a forthcoming issue of The Outlook.

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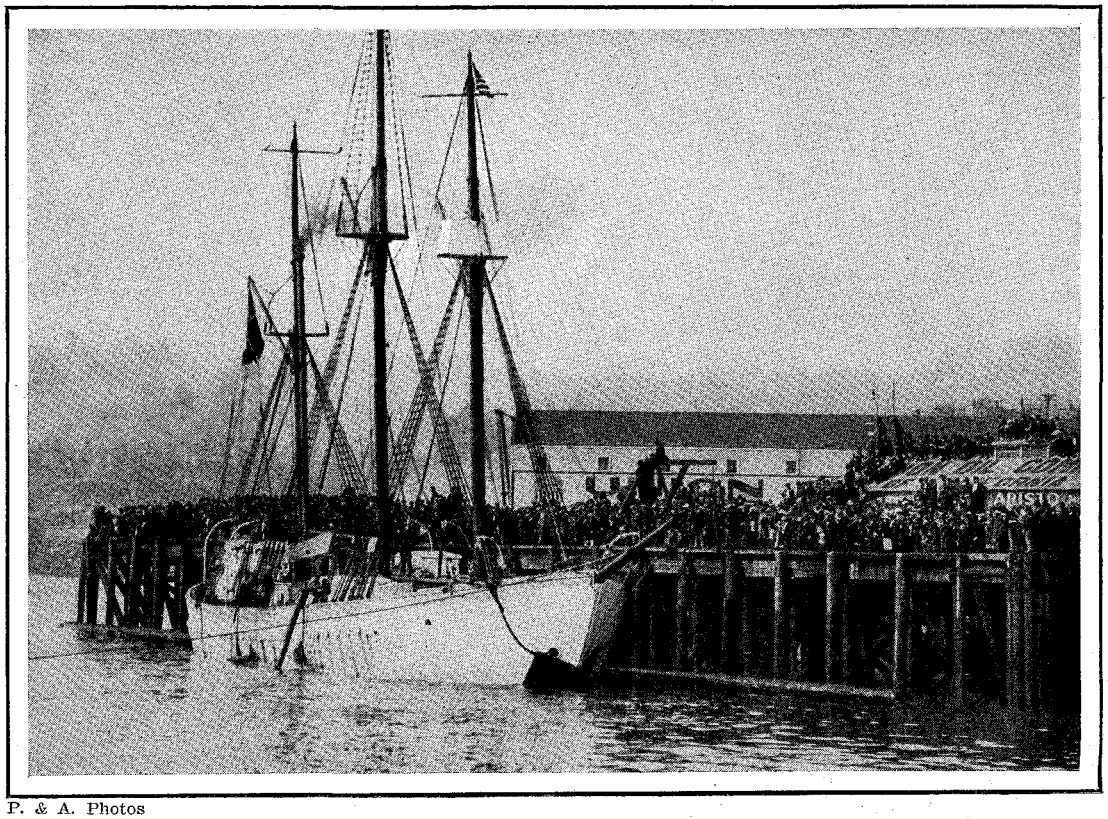
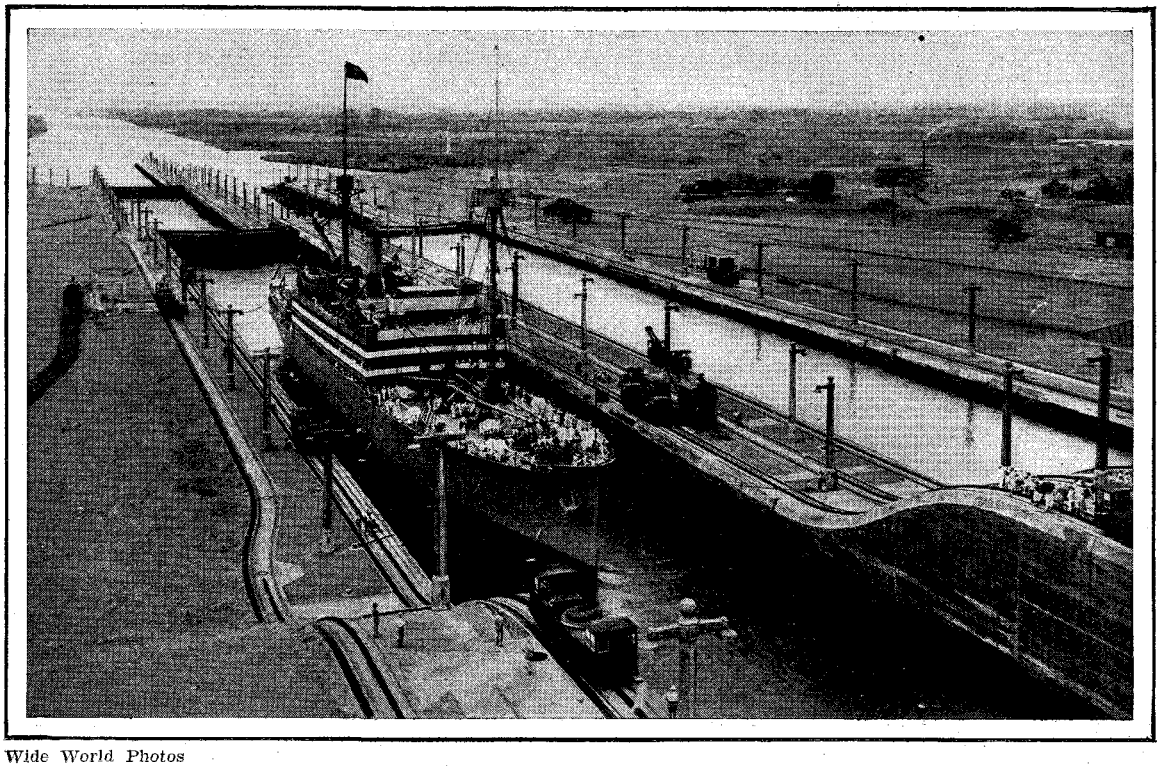
VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND FRIENDSHIP



P. & A. Photos

CAPTAIN AMUNDSEN LEAVING SEATTLE ON THE MAUD FOR A POLAR VOYAGE

Captain Amundsen expects to be gone several years, and hopes to reach the North Pole with the aid of airplanes



Wide World Photos

THE HENDERSON, NAVAL TRANSPORT, CARRYING SECRETARY DENBY AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NAVAL ACADEMY CLASS OF '81 TO THE CLASS REUNION AT TOKYO, LYING IN THE GATUN LOCKS ON HER PASSAGE THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

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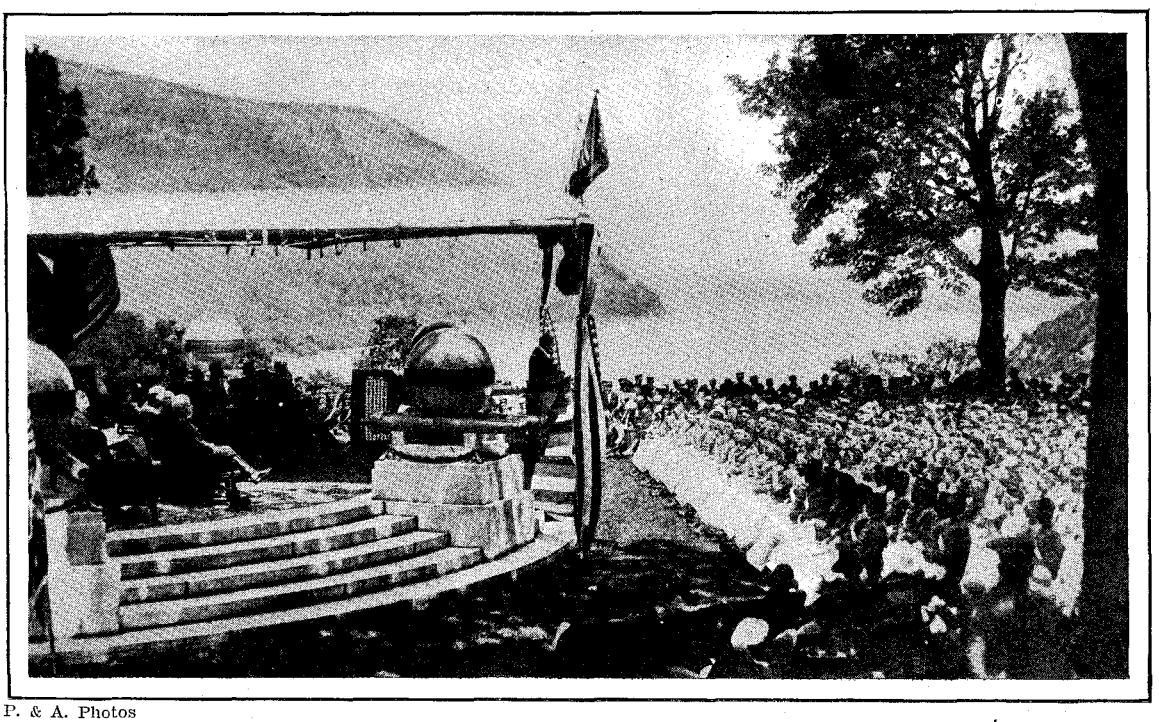
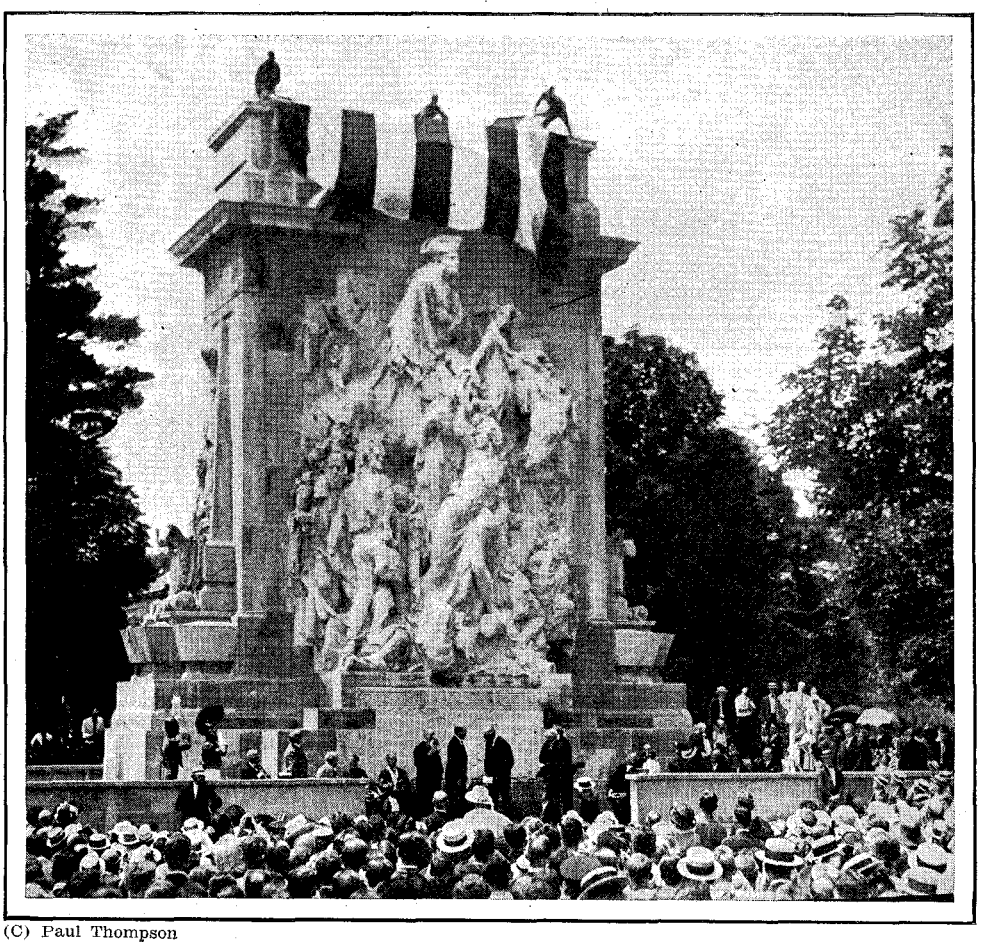
ON REVOLUTIONARY BATTLE-GROUNDS



P. & A. Photos

SECRETARY OF WAR WEEKS ADDRESSING THE GRADUATING CLASS OF WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, JUNE 13



(C) Paul Thompson

PRESIDENT HARDING AT PRINCETON UNVEILING THE BATTLE MONUMENT

The scene is at the moment of unveiling, with President Harding, Governor Edwards, Senator Frelinghuysen, President Hibben of Princeton University, and other well-known men on the platform. The monument is by Frederick MacMonnies, and commemorates the Battle of Princeton

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DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM GENOA

BY ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

FOR years I have read the speeches of Lloyd George, and I have seen him occasionally—generally at a distance. But not until I met him personally and talked with him did I really appreciate the kind of man he is.

In the first place, he is a stockier, sturdier, more closely knit person than I had supposed. My idea of him had of course been influenced by the caricatures in the illustrated press, where his hair is always too long and curly, his mustache too stubby, his eyes too watery, and his expression too all-things-to-all-men. As I spoke with him, I saw no very long, flowing locks, no bristling mustache, and no watery but, instead, clear, sharp, shrewd eyes, looking at me with what you might call "pondered assurance," and "eating me up," as we used to say at school.

Lloyd George knew all about The Outlook. I did not have to explain that it differed from the London "Outlook." You don't have to explain anything to him as to facts. His knowledge of them is accurate and prodigious.

Some people, however, have had to explain principles. The people who during the Genoa Conference have been explaining things to him have been the Belgians and the French, who are determined, as is America, to make no concessions in Russia inconsistent with their self-respect.

Lloyd George's mental power does not impress me as belonging to that somewhat small class of men who persistently and perhaps painfully think out problems "to the buttons on the back of their coats," to quote a phrase from Theodore Roosevelt. But, as a lightning calculator of the moment, the Lloyd George power is simply marvelous. As your photographer will do you a photograph while you wait, so Lloyd George will do you a quick, subtle, study of a given situation—in the labor world, or in Ireland, or in Russia, for instance—which challenges your attention, if it does not your confidence. He seems to see a lot of things unseen by other men. His mental processes are as fascinating as they are instant.

Lloyd George in action is even more interesting. Of course if he could always act "off his own bat" he would have an easier time. But he is hampered by three things. First, there is the task of making Liberals and Tories work together harmoniously in a Coalition Cabinet under his Premiership. Even without this particular task, however, any British Prime Minister would have to shoulder the other two tasks—namely, those of pacifying the mercantile class (which ever since the war has wanted to regain its two customers, Germany and Russia) and the labor class, more or less affected by Communistic theories.

To overcome these difficulties, Lloyd George needs, and has, three necessary qualities—ingenuity, tact, and courage. Some weeks ago I saw an excellent exhibition by him of them. He had invited some journalists to meet him, and when we arrived announced himself ready to answer questions. Questions and answers succeeded each other smoothly until a particular query from a German journalist was reached: "What were the circumstances which led to the conclusion at Berlin of the Russo-German treaty, just signed at Rapallo." Lloyd George looked sharply over to where a few German journalists were sitting and said: "I hope that the questioner will not insist on this question. I know under what conditions this treaty arose. But we are here, not to discuss the past; we are here to discuss the future. A mere nothing can muddy the clear water. I should regret, therefore, if the German journalist insisted on this question, and if I had to reply." On this it was not hard to see that there was divergency of opinion among the German journalists. They put their heads together. The reasonable part of them won. The question was withdrawn.

The English Prime Minister has one quality which distinguishes him among Englishmen because the quality is not so much English as it is Celt, and that is imagination. He gave a bold, if not altogether happy, exhibition of it the other day at a lunch offered by the British delegation to the British, American, and Italian journalists. He said: "My own village in Wales is full of Norman ruins. But the oldest structure there is an old Roman wall, which is always in condition to be used." With this frequent imagery, Mr. Lloyd George gave a symbolic sense to these words, by no means lost on his Italian auditors. The old Norman walls now in ruins they took as representing the Anglo-French Entente, but the old Roman wall, always standing and serviceable, as representing the Anglo-Italian friendship of longer date and now stronger than ever. The Prime Minister wanted to please Italy. And she had reason to be satisfied with the rest of his discourse as well. It was of an eloquence only to be compared to the oration of Paul Deschanel at Paris in 1915, commemorating Italy's entrance into the war. To take a fling at France, however, a few hours after the Genoa Conference had closed its sessions was, to say the least, extraordinary, and causes resentment among the friends of France.

In truth, Lloyd George has the defects of his qualities. The touches of imagination, humor, and humanity which illumine all his speeches and all his conversation are sometimes unnecessary, no matter how brilliant. For instance, I heard him say: "Genoa gave to the world the discoverer of America. Let us hope that Genoa will now help America to rediscover Europe."

Later he explained: "I wanted to see America at Genoa because she has a special position and authority which we have not. America is fresh, free, independent, not mixed up in our controversies, and with an authority due to her world position."

Probably Lloyd George's keenest disappointment has been in our refusal to follow his Russian policy, whether at Genoa or The Hague or anywhere. He knew very well how justified were the economic reasons which prevented our taking part in the Genoa Conference. But he also knew, even better, how justified was the political reason. He and the Italian Foreign Minister seem determined to catch hold of Russia's skirts, at whatever cost. We, the Belgians, and the French, on the other hand, know just what loss of moral self-respect is involved in such a transaction. Instead, then, of endeavoring to obtain concessions, which would only mean recognition of the present Bolshevist Government and perpetuate its unholy power, we prefer to stand aside until that power drops of its own weight and we can negotiate with the real Russian people, now enslaved by one per cent of the population.

But what would you? England and Italy thirst for new trade. In neither country is there appreciation of the very small amount of trade which can be obtained from Russia for years to come. But even were it a large amount, the principle would be the same. You cannot afford to touch pitch if you expect to keep your hands clean.

In all this matter, as well as in many others, the English Premier shows another quality—emotionalism. Though the two men are strikingly different in make-up and manner, ex-President Wilson, if I mistake not, shares the same quality. It is not necessary to have an effervescent manner in order to be an emotionalist. President Wilson's manner is calm and dignified, not to say chilling at times. Lloyd George's manner is dignified, but his frequent flashes of wit and his human touch make one think more readily of emotionalism. And emotionalism run to seed becomes obsession.

Only thus can one explain certain of Mr. Wilson's courses at Paris, and especially his course at Washington with the Senate regarding the League of Nations

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Covenant. Only thus can one explain certain of Mr. Lloyd George's courses here at Genoa, especially his persistence in trying to get the Bolsheviks to listen to reason. This would have been all very well if he could have obtained a tenth part of what he wanted. But, even so, what would their promises have been worth?

In general, one may say of Lloyd George that he is an opportunist. At the close of the war, for example, he was all for getting the last cent out of the Germans and for stringing up the Kaiser on Tower Hill, if necessary. Now he is all for letting the Germans have all the concessions possible and even for giving an extra lease of life to the Bolsheviks.

Of course you may say that this covers a three years' period, and that even a clever man may change his mind in three years. But Lloyd George has been known to do it in a great deal less time than that. They tell a story of a meeting at which he and Balfour were the speakers. Balfour began and outlined the Government's policy. It found no approving echo among the auditors. Lloyd George was quickly conscious of this, and when he spoke announced that the Government's policy had been modified. Not to be outdone, Balfour spoke a few closing words, in which he also smilingly assured the auditors that the Government's policy had been so and so, but was now so and so.

It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to magnify the opportunism of the English Prime Minister too far. He is an opportunist, and that must be reckoned with. He is no great compelling, uncompromisingly elemental force, like Clemenceau, for example. He is no Tiger. In comparison he is a wolf.

But he is a great man, just the same. In his power of manipulation and tact gentleness is mingled with genius. He has thus saved England from more than one dreadful labor clash. He has done more than any one else to solve the Irish problem.

His willingness to work with other statesmen is also one of his best qualities. He has known how to manage affairs harmoniously with men of widely opposing characteristics.

And, in all, he has had an almost paternal manner, which suits him well. Here at Genoa he exercised that manner on more than one occasion (as I can personally witness) with extraordinary persuasiveness, being helped thereto by the lovely quality of his high-pitched voice.

He is not a great orator, as some statesmen have been. His gestures are about what you might expect from an oak tree, could it speak and wave its arms. But he speaks with the force of a massive oak tree, just the same. A few days ago I heard him address these words of scorn to the Bolsheviks, who wanted a loan before they had given any proof that their Government was becoming civilized and orderly. The language shows that Lloyd George could display courage with them when necessary:

"Your reply has provoked a disastrous effect everywhere. If that were to be Russia's last word, we would have to despair of results at The Hague. Certainly Russia is missing in the world market. But she needs far more the help of the other Powers in order to raise herself from her frightful prostration. She can obtain this aid, but she must act differently, unless she expects to repel the sentiments of the immense majority of Europeans who sympathize with the Russians in their misery.

"We have certain prejudices. In western Europe, for example, when a man sells goods, he likes to be paid. If a man seeks his neighbor and asks for aid, he does not succeed in borrowing if he declares that his principles do not allow him to repay his creditor. So, when a country asks for a loan, it is not a good way to get it to begin by declaring that the country repudiates its debts."

These blunt sentences were cheered to the echo by all present except the Germans and Russians. I am only sorry that Mr. Lloyd George did not speak out in this way on the first day, instead of on the last day, of the Conference. While the sentences display the courage of which he is capable, the courage, one may say, may have been tempered by opportunism, and hence that which would have been a more ringing sentence on the first day was held till the last for fear of offense. This may be a harsh judgment, I believe, for on the first day of the Conference we were not in possession of all the facts which had developed before the last day arrived.

All in all, Lloyd George is a fascinating person and a mighty power. He is a great deal more attractive than he is represented to be either by photograph or description. But he does not always strike twelve. Who does?

THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT AMONG AMERICAN WORKERS

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

ON the surface the United States is pretty proud of its system of universal popular education. Underneath, the validity of it as a successful going affair is being questioned more and more every day; questioned by experts who observe vast and increasing expenditures and abortive results so far as the mental morale of the masses is concerned. It is not simply that the educational pabulum is proved unnutritive for large numbers of the population, but that two-thirds of the child population drop the system entirely before they get much out of it. Around fourteen years of age the great majority quit the schools in a pretty raw state from the standpoint of mental or civic discipline.

And side by side with this insufficiency of process and product the last few years have witnessed the beginnings of a Nation-wide movement among American workers of the tool-using trades to supply the need which they themselves are beginning more or less instinctively to feel and which their leaders consciously recognize as vital to the progress of the working class. It is a spontaneous and individualistic movement which has produced a variety of experiments in different parts of the country. There are eight or ten so-called labor colleges in cities like Boston, New York, Washington, St. Paul, and Pittsburgh. With a natural leaning towards intelligent leadership and experience, these labor institutions have sought the help and the inspiration of the neighboring regular colleges and universities, and courses adapted to the needs of workers and the leaders of workers in economics, in finance, in government, in history, in English, in industrial technique, in labor problems, in hygiene, in appreciation of music, in elementary science, are being given by sympathetic professors from the near-by institutions of higher learning. The trade unions and the student workers foot the bills. Besides this institutional development educational classes and forums and courses of instruction in the problems dearest and nearest to the heart of the worker have suddenly sprung up in many cities of the United States. Professors from colleges like Amherst and Hamilton have lectured and conducted discussions in the trades assembly halls of Springfield and Holyoke and Utica. Bryn Mawr last summer opened her doors to about one hundred picked young women from all over America, who were supported for two months mainly by the funds of their labor organizations, while these representative tool-workers underwent experiences of inspiration and enlightenment that powerfully stirred their lives. Similar instruction will be given at Bryn Mawr during the coming summer.

This whole movement has sprung up so suddenly and so silently that it has

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been almost without observation on the part of the general citizenry of the country. It has been checked somewhat, too, because of the period of unemployment and labor disorganization during the last year. But it is already deeply rooted and has a significance which is more than temporary. Have we forgotten that our American system of attempted universal education for the children of the masses of the people, which has led the world at least in its desire to give democratic access to knowledge, really originated, not with Horace Mann or William E. Channing, but with the instinctive yearnings of the labor masses in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century in the eastern part of the United States? In that early time the free school, supported by public taxes and controlled by the public will, was unknown. There were private pauper schools, for example, near industrial communities in Pennsylvania, where poor children might be educated in return for funds appropriated by the county commissioner. The great lack of the children of the masses of the people brought forth a report from the Philadelphia Mechanics' Union in 1830:

> In a republic the people constitute the government, and, by wielding its powers in accordance with the dictates either of their intelligence or their ignorance, of their judgment or their caprice, are the makers and rulers of their own good or evil destiny. There can be no real liberty without a wide diffusion of real intelligence; and education, instead of being limited, as in our public poor schools, to a simple acquaintance with words and ciphers, should tend as far as possible to the production of a just disposition, virtuous habits, and a rational, self-governing character.

I have been at some pains to inquire into the methods behind this most recent spontaneous burst of self-consciousness affecting the better education of workers, and I am confident that it is more than a rebuke to our self-satisfied conventional ideas of what constitutes a sufficient training for the masses. It represents an eager yearning for the larger life of the spirit. It represents an inchoate belief that militancy in labor controversy is on the wane and that intelligence, knowledge of the past and of many things, collective brain power, is the weapon of the future against the forces which labor feels are arrayed against the worker under the competitive system of economics. It is a challenge to the educational leadership of America. It demands for the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century a reorganization of public education as far-reaching as that which the masses under the leadership of men like Horace Mann and William E. Channing demanded in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century.

I was talking the other day with a very intelligent walking delegate of the building trades union in a near-by city, whom I helped a bit in inaugurating a winter's course of lectures and instruction in the trades assembly hall for several hundred representative workers.

"Do you see any sign," I said to him —for he was familiar with the goings on in other parts of the State—"that this is a propagandist movement to further working-class economics and struggles?"

"In some cases it is," he said. "The radical unions are trying to turn it in that direction. They go in strong for lectures and discussions about class economics, with a jazz dance afterwards to attract the crowd to the lecture. But the movement generally in the trade unions is something very different from that. I was in the Army. We younger laboring men got some discipline there, and we know what we have missed in life. And the leaders of the workers know something is wrong. We cannot defend a good many things that have become ordinary labor practice. The trades are deteriorating. There is no getting away from it. Mechanical ability is getting to be at a premium. Apprenticeship is being avoided by young men. Our mechanics are below par. The speed and engineering of construction is pretty good, we will admit. But the average individual laborer is now lost unless you put him in with a gang."

As I listened to him I thought that the logic of what he said meant that our system in popular education and in industry is driving workers into a sort of unintelligent, Socialistic herd in order to survive. Individualism is fading out under the existing system.

"Last winter in the trades assembly hall," my friend went on to say, "we had nearly three hundred in attendance right along, representative of all kinds of working people. Their faces showed that they were absorbed in everything that went on. The questions that some of them put over were humdingers. They would take a crack at the gold standard, or the Adamson Law, or anything else in sight. One fellow wanted to know why the National Railway Law guaranteed six per cent to the owners but there was no certain guaranty of a continuous minimum rate of wages to the workers. The Socialists made a little trouble in the way they asked questions. They were always a little nasty. But I rapped them pretty hard as the presiding officer, because we were there for the general good, and not for the good of the Socialists alone, or even of labor alone. We wanted to know more than we do about a good many things. We are hazy in our minds. The workers are headline readers, and somebody must begin to get us to think."

I talked recently with one of the women who taught courses in the workers' summer school at Bryn Mawr last year. At Bryn Mawr out of two hundred and twelve applications from every quarter of the country a selection was made of about a hundred students to whom were awarded scholarships. Ten were selected who had held positions of leadership in labor organizations to act as a stabilizing and harmonizing influence in the school. The rest were plain rank and file. Twenty of them were Jews, twenty Roman Catholics, the rest Protestants or "not indicated." One-third were natives of American blood, one-third had at least one foreign parent, and one-third were foreign-born. They represented nineteen States from Rhode Island to California, from Minnesota to North Carolina. Two-thirds of them were twenty-five years of age or over. Four of them had begun to work before they were twelve, nearly all of them were at work between fourteen and sixteen. Four-fifths of them had previously been trying to hew out an education for themselves by attending evening classes somewhere.

My friend who was the Bryn Mawr instructor of these young working-women, of large experience in the regular conventional education of those who can pay their way, told me of the report she had made to her fellow-alumnæ upon her summer's teaching. She said:

> I found my task difficult and exciting in the highest degree. The girls had a calm, clear gaze that looked you through—suspicious, sensitive, challenging, armed with absolute candor. They were not lacking in untrustfulness. As one of their leaders said, "We have been duped so many times." They had risked so much to come. For railway fare and incidentals they had used their savings. They were in some danger of losing their jobs which they had left, particularly in a year of unemployment. They cared almost terribly what they got, and were determined to get it or know why they had failed. Nothing could be "put over." All dogmatic assurance, all glibness, all bluffing dropped away by themselves. You had to be ready to have any statement questioned, any idea challenged, to give unlimited time to discussion, to questions, to opposing claims. More than once in the first two weeks I should have bolted had I dared. I never once went into a class but with my heart in my mouth. I heard more than one of the teaching staff declare that they had been spoiled forever for ordinary college classes. All other teaching seemed tame in comparison to teaching a group who cared as those girls cared. A teacher cut his class one day; the office was promptly mobbed to see when the lost hour could be made up.

This particular woman instructor who told me this taught English literature. She said:

> I found that the note of the actual present was what reached them most immediately. The subject-matter they naturally took to was the all-embracing lovingness of a Hauptmann or a Whitman. Masefield's passionate personal quest of beauty struck them as "selfish." Their class consciousness, the religion of the unions, seemed to make them impatient of anything narrowly individual. They went to

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(C) Underwood

A GROUP OF STUDENTS AT THE BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL. THE SECOND SESSION WILL SOON BE UNDER WAY

learn as fellow-workers in one class, not to move out of that class. "We want our teachers to realize," said one, "that we are workers and shall remain so." They were an eternal lesson to me in constant thought of others of their group, especially of others weaker, worse off than themselves.

Some of the students would ask for lists of books, of modern plays "worth reading;" in one case, of "books suitable for my little nephews between nine and thirteen, who have to live in so bad a part of Chicago. They are my sister's children—she has seven. My brother-in-law is a horseshoer, and for his profession has to live in a dreadful district. I want to give the children at least the right books."

"Did you do nothing but sew labels on shirts for nine hours a day for five years?" I heard one girl say to another. "How did you stand it?" "Well, I knew if I quit working I'd quit eating, and I never just saw my way clear to get out of it," was the reply. And so the girls thought these summer weeks preciously worth while. When I looked for some of them to say "good-by" on the last morning, I was told, "They have gone off into the woods to cry." Several of them left us saying they were going to save and save for the coming year to pay for a scholarship for themselves next summer, "if the school goes on;" others, still more characteristically, said "good-by;" they should not try to come back at once—"not till lots of other girls have had a turn;" they intended to earn and save for that.

And my friend concluded what she had to say about her experience at Bryn Mawr with the remark that she could wish for all the graduates of her College that they might count among their intimates gallant and shining spirits in the group which she had sought to serve during the summer, "that we might start our children thus on the way of serving the future, of setting their feet on the Highroad That Goes On."

I have had the pleasure of reading some of the Christmas letters which these young workers wrote back to Bryn Mawr last winter. They are full of an eagerness and yearning which is unmistakable, and of a spirit of appreciation which is profound.

This from one:

> When I reached home on that last Wednesday night, it was awful quiet with just my mother after living eight weeks with a hundred of the nicest people in the world; but I found many domestic jobs awaiting my return which I was glad to have to do, as they occupied my hands and thoughts until I return to work at the laundry on the following Monday.

This from another:

> I came back to find myself taken off the salary list and my wages cut. . . . I felt myself going backward and found it impossible to live on what I was receiving, and so I left. I went into housework with the idea of saving my wages, which are practically clear, and entering a hospital for training as soon as possible.

Another writes:

> When I came back from the summer school I had lost my job because it would not wait for me for two months. After a couple of weeks hunting for work in different lines and shops, I finally one morning came to a firm that needed some one to do the part of the work that I had always done. It was a non-union shop. I was asked where I worked last. "I didn't work this summer. I attended the school at Bryn Mawr College," I replied, so as not to give any particular firm. I knew they wouldn't hire a union member. Then I was asked, "What were you studying?" as if they were afraid that I might soon finish for some professional work. "Oh, nothing for a profession, just for general education," I assured them. "Then it's all right," I was told, and I was hired and led into the factory by the forelady. She showed me a machine, gave me some work, and walked off. "Hello, Rose!" I suddenly heard a voice opposite me. When I looked up, I saw a girl that I knew. "Hello!" I answered, and we spoke about different little things. Then she went over to the forelady, and in the meantime I remembered that this girl once came before the executive of our local under a charge of working in a shop when the people of that shop were out on strike; and she was fined by the executive. And I thought, "I wonder if she'll tell that I am a union member." Later she said to the manager, "Rose Ingber never comes to a non-union shop to work; if she comes, it is with the intention to organize that shop. Isn't that so, Rose?" she asked me. I thought that I would be discharged the next moment; but no. This firm seemed to realize that at this time there was nothing to fear from the organization. I am still in this shop, but working very little because there is little work.

Many gave accounts of simple services that they have performed since they returned, speaking, helping to strengthen their unions, attending evening classes. Here is one incident:

> This past week I have been taking blind folk on shopping trips, and I have been accompanying a blind friend of mine who is employed by the State Commission for the Blind

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in taking the census of the blind. These excursions take us into the poorest sections of the city. We are confronted with crowded tenements, poorly ventilated, hallways reeking of odors and enveloped in darkness. It simply overwhelms one. More and more was I brought to realize of what little avail ultimately are emergency remedies, and that fundamental changes must be made.

Here is a movement which needs to be studied and guided. There are many thousands of eager men and women of great potential force and intelligence in the working class of America who can be molded into a leadership of enormous value to industry and to the country. They are ignorant now of many things. But they have "a living experience; highly sensitized by economic wrong." They believe that the existing competitive system has worked much injustice to their class. They are suspicious of the system. They fear and hate it. They are inclined to believe oftentimes that human society, as at present organized, has set its face against them. They are now issuing a challenge to American education. It remains to be seen whether American education is able to meet the challenge and to lead them in an atmosphere of sympathy to think clearly and to see that the way out is not through revolution or despair, but through progressive and intelligent change of the existing economic order until it becomes far better fitted than it now is to support the livelihood and the faith of the children of men.

THE GIRL AND HER MUSCLE

BY CHARLES K. TAYLOR

Photo by C. K. Taylor

A GIRL WHO SCORED ONE HUNDRED PER CENT

ONLY a few years ago one would have said, "A girl and her *muscle?* How absurd! What has a girl to do with muscle?" And not many years before that a muscular girl, with good posture and shoulders, would have been thought deformed. Now it is perfectly true that girls with a good posture are not nearly as common these days as they should be, but the Posture League has been educating many of us, so that when we see girls with the usual slouching posture we no longer believe it to be natural, but something acquired in school or adopted as a pose.

Here is a story that is perfectly true, though you would not believe it if we produced a wilderness of witnesses. It happened a number of years ago, when the writer was an assistant in a psychological clinic. It seems that the clinic had been particularly successful in the case of an habitual truant of thirteen—a fine-looking boy, too, with perfectly normal mentality. Many bad teeth, however, combined with bad adenoids, were driving him to distraction, so that it is a wonder that he was no worse than a truant. The physical difficulties being removed, the boy forgot all about his truancies, and became a self-respecting member of the community.

His mother was delighted, and developed an amazing faith in the powers of the members of that clinic. Said she to the writer: "I wish you would take a look at my daughter. I'm afraid there is something the matter with her back and shoulders—some kind of malformation."

She was told to bring the child. When they arrived, the writer concluded that he had never seen a girl of twelve with a better posture. She was a well-set-up youngster, no matter if her clothes were really disguising a malformed back.

"She *looks* all right," said I.

"Oh, yes, she looks all right," replied the mother, "but her back and shoulders don't look right." When these two essentials were made visible, the writer told that mother that for the life of him he couldn't see a flaw. There was no sign of curvature or other fault. The

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shoulders were perfect, and much better muscled than usual.

"Mary," said the mother, "put your hands behind your head." Mary did—and you never saw such muscles in your life, appearing on the back and shoulders of a girl of twelve!

"Why, what's wrong?" I demanded. "That's the finest back I ever saw!"

"But isn't something wrong?" asked the mother, anxiously. "Girls' backs don't look like that!" And there you have it. That girl had a first-class muscular development, and her own mother thought something was wrong!

That was about a dozen years ago, and even in these few years so great an interest has been paid the physical training of girls that the girl with first-rate physique is no longer a rarity, and a girl can walk the streets with head up, shoulders back, and with a real capacity for using her muscles in all kinds of emergencies without being thought a curiosity.

Now, when more and more attention is being paid to the physical training of girls, a question arises of increasing interest and importance. Here it is: How are you going to tell when a girl is well developed? An expert can make a shrewd judgment; but can a fair judgment be made by means of physical measurements? And that is the subject of this paper.

First of all, she will have to be judged according to her own type of build, provided that she is in a good physical condition. This is something that can be learned only through a medical examination. As has been said in a previous issue of The Outlook, you cannot tell a child's physical condition through his or her weight. We need not go into all that detail again. Let us say that the medical examiner has found the girl to be in first-class condition. Then we can consider that her weight is correct and that she probably represents her normal type of build, which may be slender, or stocky, or some type between the two.

It is obvious that the requirements of a normally slender girl should be proportionally less than those of a thickset, stockily built girl, and so tables have been devised—five of them—allowing for various types of build. When you have the girl's height and weight, you may find approximately the same height-weight combination on the tables, and there will be given approximate measurements for a satisfactorily developed girl of that height and weight.[1] So far we have followed the general plan as previously described for boys, but with girls we have a complication that makes it difficult to arrange satisfactory tables. A girl five feet tall, let us say, and weighing one hundred pounds, may be pre-adolescent, adolescent, or post-adolescent. This is something her age will not tell either. Therefore tables prepared for pre-adolescent girls will not do for post-adolescent ones. The type of build has markedly changed. By way of example, let us compare the measurements of pre-adolescent and post-adolescent girls of the medium type of build and 60 inches tall. Here they are:

	Pre-adolescent.	Post-adolescent.
Height	60	60
Weight	92	93
Shoulder girth	32⅝	33⅝
Chest girth (ninth rib)	22¾	23⅞
Chest expansion	3	3
Right upper arm girth	8½	8⅝
Difference when contracted	1¼	1¼
Left upper arm girth	8¼	8¼
Difference when contracted	1⅛	1⅛
Waist	23	23¼
Hips	30¼	31⅜
Average of thighs	16¾	17⅜
Average of calves	11⅜	11⅜

With the post-adolescent girl, then, the measurements must represent the characteristics of the more mature type of build. Such a mass of data is required to construct thoroughly accurate tables of measurements covering such a variety of types that, though the tables described in this article are actually working well, they cannot be considered perfect. Nevertheless they can, perhaps, be a help to physical directors and examiners in gaining an idea as to the muscular development of a girl compared with an attainable standard.

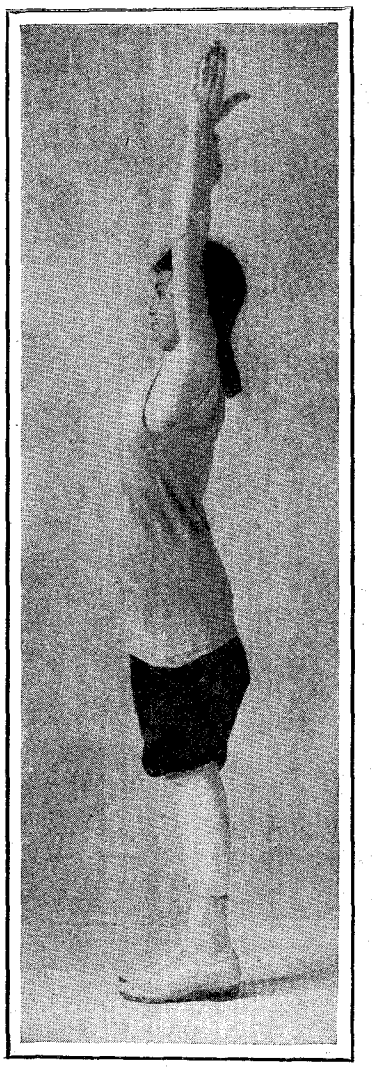
From these tables scores are obtained after the same fashion as with those prepared for boys. That is, when you have the complete measurements, they are compared with the measurements given for approximately the same height-weight combination and for the same stage of maturity as nearly as may be. Then, as the girl's measurements go below or above the standard, points are subtracted from or added to 100. The following will be an example. The first series are the measurements of a pre-adolescent girl, and the second are those given for approximately the same height and weight for pre-adolescent girls in the standard tables by which the development of the girl is to be judged.

	The Girl	The Standard	The Score
Height	58½	58	
Weight	78	77	
Shoulder girth	32	31½	+2
Chest girth (ninth rib)	21¼	21⅝	−1½
Chest expansion	2½	2⅝	−1
Right upper arm girth	8¼	8¼	
Difference when contracted	1¼	1⅛	+1
Left upper arm girth	8¼	8⅛	+ ½
Difference when contracted	1¼	1	+2
Waist (not counted in score)	22	21¾	
Hips	29	28½	+ ½
Average of thighs	16⅝	15⅝	+2
Average of calves	10½	10½	
Score			105.5

(For shoulder girth, chest girth, arm girth, and calf girth ¼ inch = 1. For arm "difference" and chest expansion ⅛ inch = 1. For hips and thighs 1 inch = 1. Thigh and calf scores counted twice.)

105½ is a good score. City public school average is about 92. The tables, in other words, contain measurements that are a little above the average. The average is not necessarily an ideal! In making up these tables measurements were used only of individuals in good condition. That makes them rank above average, for the average includes all individuals.

Let us see what can be done with a plan of this kind. First of all, as we said, a girl can be given a score that will represent a fair comparison between her muscular development and an attainable and satisfactory standard *for the same type of build*, and the record, as shown above, will indicate by minus signs just where special exercise will aid a girl to get rid of under-development. Not only so, but through a method of this kind actual improvement can be distinguished from mere growth gains. Far too commonly increases in weight and height have been termed "improve-



MEDIUM-SLENDER TYPE

A girl of twelve with score of 118. At ten the score was 82. She then had a lateral curvature of an inch, and badly undeveloped chest and muscles. The measuring and scoring process brought about such an interest that home exercise alone, with frequent reporting for examination, straightened out the curvature, developed a fine lot of muscles and a chest expansion of 3½ inches

[1] These tables are published in "Physical Standards for Boys and Girls," Academy Press, Carteret Place, Orange, N. J.

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ment" and much credit taken thereby. With this plan, if a girl is heavier and taller at the end of a certain period, then all her other measurements must have increased in proportion if she is to maintain her first score. But if the score has increased, then some or all of the other measurements must have increased beyond what was necessary to maintain the first score, and so we have a real improvement noted, by means of which you can check up the value of a system of physical training.

Few seem to take into account and to utilize the great interest aroused both with girls and boys by the simple process of being measured and given a comprehensible "score." And this interest can be sustained by very stimulating competitions—competitions for highest percentage of improvement, which gives the best chance to the poorer physiques, and one for highest score, which gives the best chance to the stronger girls. Both competitions thus interest every girl, the strong ones having slim chance in the improvement competition, and the poorly developed girls having even less chance in the high-score competition, so that both kinds bring in all girls.

During the year, at frequent intervals, girls who have made "minuses" can report and see if they have made them up, and it has been found that the interest is sufficiently strong to induce many boys and girls to do their special work at home.

During the last few years we have been over-emphasizing the weight of a child and neglecting the muscular development. The writer merely suggests the above plan as a means for stimulating an effective interest in this development and for keeping comprehensible records.

THE DUEL

BY HAROLD TROWBRIDGE PULSIFER

ONCE I fought a shadow
In swift and gallant play.
She laughed at thrust and parry,—
That dancing wraith of gray.

Our flickering sword blades circled
In whirls of phantom light.
It was a high adventure
With such a ghost to fight.

At last, too blindly lunging,
I passed her flashing guard
And pierced her misty bosom
With my impalpable sword.

The ways of air-born women
I do not understand,
Nor how that wounded spirit
Left blood on my sword hand.

THE FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH IN MODERN LIFE[1]

BY RABBI SAMUEL SCHULMAN, D.D.

THE fact that I am here this afternoon leads me to believe that in choosing the topic, "The Church in World Affairs," for discussion the club intended the word "Church" to be understood in its most comprehensive sense. We are not here to discuss the dogmas of any particular Church. We are not to emphasize denominational distinctions. We are to attempt to understand what influence the Church, as the visible expression of religion, can exert in the world.

By the Church I understand, first, that invisible but actual union of spirits in the world that are bearing witness to the reality of God and that, in their way, are promoting his kingdom of righteousness and love in the relations of men. Such a union has always existed, and is a tremendous power for good in the world. And again, by the Church one may understand the visible organized effort of a group of men and women bound together on behalf of the great purposes of the invisible Church in accordance with any particular belief. Thus there is one invisible Church which breaks up into a number of concrete competing and co-operating churches.

I come here to speak as the representative of what I sometimes like to call the Mother Church of Western civilization. Give me the pleasure of indulging myself in the claim, even if you are inclined to criticise the implication in it. The claim is based on the indisputable fact that what actual religion exists in the Western world today can be traced back historically to the religion of Israel as the womb from which it sprang. It happens often that the children in number and in diversity of talent and in the lustiness and vigor of their self-consciousness are inclined to push the mother into the background. They seem for a while to overshadow the aged matron. But if she, despite the snows of winter on her head, has spring in her heart and feels an undying youth in her soul, she cannot help being a source of inspiration and of counsel to those who cannot altogether deny their origin. And perhaps it will not hurt them, now and then, to listen to what she has to say.

And it so happens that I come here with the message of the synagogue, which is still ringing in my ears, and which is read this morning in every Jewish place of worship. It is on this Sabbath that the story is told of the first attack made upon Israel by Amalek. And Amalek henceforth in Jewish history has been identified with the principle of evil. And we are informed that there is an everlasting warfare from generation to generation, between the Lord and Amalek. And this Amalek was a power that did not revere God. And he unrighteously attacked the weak and the struggling. And he relied on

[1] From an address at a Saturday luncheon of the Republican Club of New York.

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brute force. And if I were to sum up the business of the Church in world affairs, I would say that it is to represent God as against the evil in the world.

The supreme function of the Church is to make the present bearable. Not only bearable, but enjoyable. It is to make men feel the reality of the living God. It is to impress human life with its inherent value. It is to make men feel the realities of the spiritual experience. And therefore it is to make them, by faith, rise and triumph over the hideous realities of evil and suffering in the world. It is to make men calm and serene and strong and courageous and cheerful. It is to imbue men with a confidence which will enable them to accept the universe and life. We are living in a fevered time. Western civilization as a patient has not yet recovered from the terrible catastrophe which came to it. It is still being tossed to and fro on its bed of suffering. It is sick from head to foot. There is a maddening fever in its blood. And therefore most of the functions of the body politic are deranged. It is a time of unsettlement. Our institutions are rocking. There is widespread discontent. There is antagonism of races. There is conflict of classes. The attention of men and women is mainly centered on the worldly prizes. Men are fighting for the distribution of the industrial product. Their happiness they interpret in terms of money gained and pleasures that money can buy. In such a time the supreme function of the Church, which is its business in every generation, is to bring home to men's minds a true valuation of life. Men and women must be made to understand that there is something in man greater than the tool which he wields, the things that he makes, the power that he achieves, expressed in terms of the money that he owns and the commodities and luxuries with which he can surround himself as the symbols of his power and self-indulgence. It is the Church's business to make men feel that the glories of life are to be found in the soul. The Church, to use the expression of a significant writer, is to "release the soul" in men and to make them feel that the bit of life which is theirs, the present, no matter where they may find themselves, has infinite value, because it is the fruitage of the marriage of their spirit to the everlasting God. Led by the mystic influence of the Church, they are to transcend worldly distinctions and to realize the worth and dignity of life.

This living faith, if the Church could imbue men with it, would prove a tremendous asset in world affairs. It would bring calm to the fevered brow of the Western world. It would plant contentment in human hearts, a contentment which is no contradiction of a divine discontent, which aims at the world's improvement. It would not be a contentment that would act as a narcotic, to put to sleep our moral energies, but it would be a fountain of living waters, bubbling up in the heart and giving joy even amid the labor and the suffering that accompany life. It would enable the modern man to echo the spirit of the ancient psalmist, who said, "As for me, the nearness of God is a good."

We have recently heard much of controversy about evolution. I think the Church can and must go beyond such controversies. Let science have to do with methods and processes of the creative power. The Church's business it is to make men feel that they are as much living souls as were the prophets and heroes of the past, and that the religious problem is a perennial one, fresh and new in every generation, for each individual soul. Why should I be worried about my family tree? What do I care for the manner in which the creative wisdom thought fit to have me at last appear on the scene? What is most important is that I feel the inrush of the divine life in my soul, in the present. We need not fear that the scientists will make monkeys of us. The great danger is lest we make monkeys of ourselves by abdicating the glorious privilege which is ours, to revere the Almighty Power and to love the living God, who speaks in the splendors of nature and in the greater splendors of the revelations to the human spirit. The Church must make man happy in the consciousness of his prerogative as a living soul. The Church must give the spiritual foundation to the political creed of a democracy which without that foundation tends very easily to become one of the multitudes of idols after which men went astray.

The Church must not only make the present bearable and acceptable and illumined with joy, but it must lead men with a great vision. It must make them feel that the kingdom is not yet realized, that "the best is still to be." It must be the living conscience, fearlessly denouncing unrighteousness wherever it may raise its head. It must not be afraid of corporate wealth. And it must not truckle to the spirit of any class. It must be quick to sympathize with suffering. Its business is to be the prophet, daring to say to the king of the generation, "Thou art the man." It must be the inspiration to progress in social justice. It dares not compromise. Its sight must be sharp for the evils of injustice that thrive. Its word in denunciation of them must not be faint-hearted. It must recognize that this world is still incomplete and imperfect. The righteous will of men must be fostered by it, so that, to use an expression of the Talmud, men must become creative partners unto Deity in performing the moral commandment of righteous duty and helping along the evolution of man. The Church must be the tribune of the masses whenever and in whatever form they are oppressed by any kind of the classes. In short, the Church in world affairs must be socially progressive. That does not mean that it must necessarily engage in politics. The spirit of our institutions, which separates the Church from the State, is sound. And the counsel implied in that spirit is one to follow to the extent that it is, on the whole, best that the official leaders of the Church engage not in the machinery and in the methods of political controversies. But the Church must be the great inspirer of the ideals of social justice, of righteousness and love among men. If the masses felt that the Church was performing the function of the prophetic watchman, they would instinctively be drawn to it. A prophet, however, fears no one but God. The Church, therefore, must neither timidly flatter the exploiter nor bend before the fury of the demagogue. The Church must be the prophet, pleading for justice as the goal in human society and using the methods of loving-kindness in leading men to that goal.

The Church must not only mystically transfigure the present, prophetically envisage the future, but it must be the peace-loving priest that conserves what is best in the past and that conciliates classes and races.

This rôle of peace-maker the Church is especially called upon to play in our time. It can exert a tremendous influence in world affairs on behalf of peace. But in order to do so it must be vividly, yea, burningly, conscious of the deepest causes of war. And one of the deepest causes of the spirit of war is the antagonism of races. We have never had in the world's history such an intense racial consciousness as exists to-day. It is this consciousness of race, artificially fostered by a one-sided natural science, which expresses itself in national chauvinisms. It is this which makes the world bristle with prejudices, with antipathies, with vanities, and with tribal animosities. It is not the business of the Church, certainly, to foment and increase them. In the name of the unity of the divine spirit which is reflected in the souls of all men, made in God's image, it is the business of the Church to denounce savage race hatreds, to criticise and condemn even the pettiest manifestations of racial prejudice. Never can it be the function of the Church to urge men to war. It may encourage them, when in war, by the appeal to their sense of the nobility of duty and the sublimity of self-sacrifice. But unto the very end the Church must dissuade from war and be inexhaustible in searching for means of reconciliation. Always it must speak for peace. Never must it indulge the Amaleks of the world in their race hatreds, in their unrighteousness, and in their blasphemy of God, by their reliance upon brute force.

The Church is the soul of the world. It is influencing world affairs all the time in so far as it is influencing human souls. Its responsibility is tremendous. To criticise it is easy. Its mistakes are the result of human weakness. By its ideals humanity lives and progresses and grows in insight.

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A MERCHANT WHO IS LOSING $50,000,000 A YEAR

HOW ALBERT D. LASKER, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD, IS TACKLING THE JOB OF "SELLING" TO THE PUBLIC AND TO CONGRESS THE ADMINISTRATION'S UNIQUE SHIP SUBSIDY PLAN

BY NEWTON FUESSLE

A TALL, ruddy-faced, vivacious Chicago man has shouldered one of the heaviest loads of the Harding Administration. His gait is untinged with the rolling leg manners that betray much contact with slanting decks, and yet he has been intrusted with the destiny of the Government's enormous fleet of 1,442 steel ships. He walks with the jaunty, confident stride of Michigan Boulevard, but there aren't any traces of *over*-confidence in his bearing. For he has bitten into one of the toughest jobs that ever confronted a Presidential appointee. His name is Albert D. Lasker, and he is Chairman of the United States Shipping Board.

Prior to being called to Washington Mr. Lasker seems to have made money out of every project that he laid his hands on. And now, for the first time in his life, the project that crowds his attention is losing money head over heels. It is going in the hole at the rate of $50,000,000 per year. And this $50,000,000 annual loss does not include interest, full insurance, or depreciation on invested capital.

President Harding has intrusted Chairman Lasker with the job of "selling" Congress and the public on the necessity for ship subsidy instead of Government operation of this big and embarrassing fleet that was left on our hands after the World War. Mr. Lasker is obliged to "sell" an idea and to "sell" goods as no Government official ever had to sell anything before.

Rusting in the waters of the Hudson and the James, lies no small part of this cumbersome and bewildering armada. Happily, Mr. Lasker is an expert at creating demand for merchandise and inventing methods for the efficient distribution of the fruits of mass production. He brings to the present task a sense of searching analysis, a gift of articulate expression, and a singular ability to move goods out of warehouses and off the shelves and into the hands of consumers. For years, as the head of Lord & Thomas, he has directed many of the largest and most important advertising and sales campaigns.

Under the gilded arches, French mirrors, and ornate crystal chandeliers of one of the Senate committee rooms in the National Capitol the Government's ships have recently been under prolonged discussion. Round the long council table of the smoke-filled room sat the members of the Senate Committee on Commerce and the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. At

ALBERT D. LASKER, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD

one end of the table were grouped Chairman Lasker and his experts. The hearings were on the Administration's bill for a ship subsidy.

Lasker, in his opening statement, expounded the unique story of the fleet of ships that we don't know what to do with, and then he proposed a remedy. He replied with ready knowledge and brisk and pointed gestures to the bombardment of cross-examination. It was the usual character of Congressional cross-examination; some of it was statesmanlike, and some of it was fatuous and partisan and nonsensical.

It is not likely that, as the executive head of a large advertising firm, Mr. Lasker has had time actually to write much "copy." But he demonstrated during these hearings that he has not lost his cunning as a producer of effective advertising. His formal opening statement was a piece of consummate "copy." It was fifty-nine typewritten pages in length, and presented an engrossing argument for ship subsidy, and called upon the "consumer" in persuasive language to avail himself of these advertised "goods."

BUSINESSLIKE AS DETROIT

For fast work or overtime efforts Government employees in Washington are not exactly noted. The bulk of them just about keep moving. But there is a very different atmosphere in the long, low office building of the United States Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation. It is charged with an electric quality. The enormous building looks more like a vigorous Detroit motor plant than like Government buildings generally. One enters a door marked "The Chairman," and discovers a plain, barely furnished anteroom, entirely free from the impressive appointments of other Government offices. On the floor are broad strips of grayish-brown battleship linoleum. There are several plain yellow desks, a few chairs, a metal clothes-press, and some hat-and-coat trees. Here are only the bare necessities of an office. It is literally stripped for action. Its job is one that all concerned want to clean up in a hurry and be through with.

An amazing bookkeeping chaos appears to have swamped the records of the Shipping Board and Fleet Corporation before Mr. Lasker took charge. Great quantities of materials had been moved from place to place without adequate notifications reaching the inventory records. To one warehouse alone 36,000 items were delivered without proper manifests and documents; there was no trace of the origin and cost of these items. And this is merely one example of the general disorder and confusion.

As an example of the immense effort required to reduce the confusion into a semblance of order, the work at Hog Island alone involved physical counts of materials and supplies of 125,000 different characters, comprising millions of units, and the final inventory report of Hog Island consisted of 11,000 typewritten sheets.

The collapse of intrinsic values since the armistice that Mr. Lasker has to contend with is appalling. A condensed summary of one group of properties and materials shows a cost of over $317,000,000, with a present fair value of about $70,000,000, and a forced sale value of only $31,000,000.

The president of one ship operating concern recently dropped into Washington and urged a settlement with the Fleet Corporation covering matters antedating the present Board. His company had charges against the Fleet Corporation and admitted obligations to the Fleet Corporation. Days were spent in searching for all possible debits and credits. After all of the accounts were gathered from all available sources, it appeared that as a net result the Fleet Corporation was indebted, according to its books, to this operator for about

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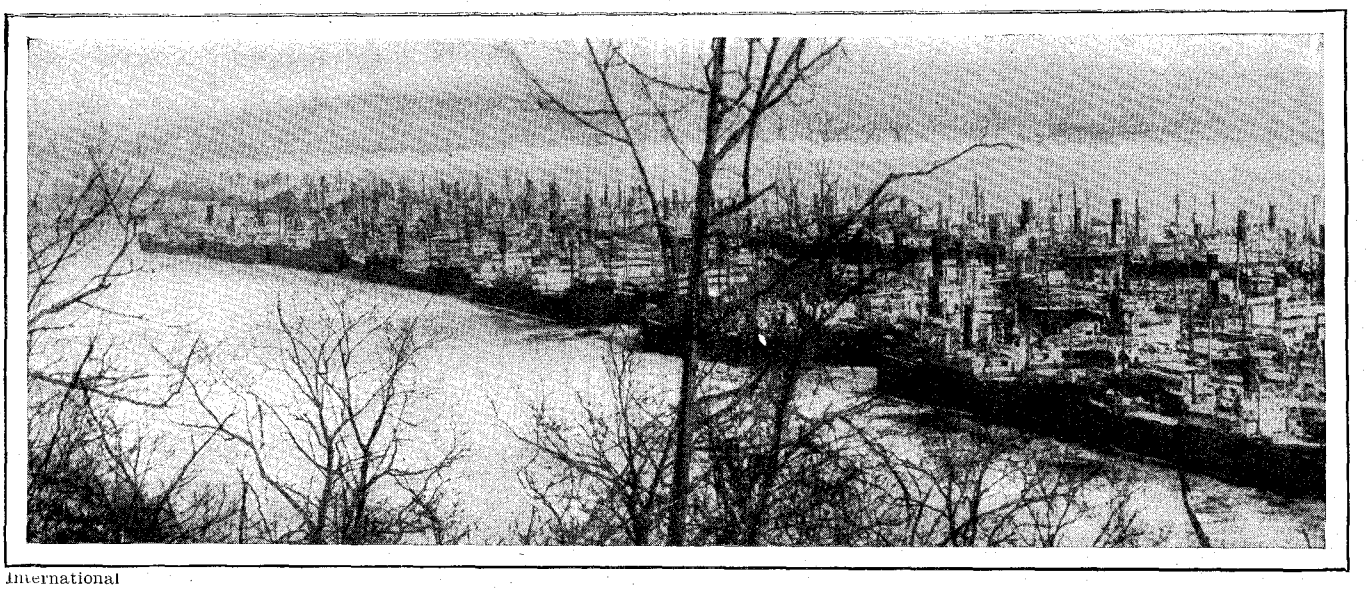

International

SHIPPING BOARD VESSELS LYING AT ANCHOR IN THE HUDSON RIVER NEAR JONES'S POINT DURING THE WINTER OF 1921-22

$800,000, whereas, according to the operator's own admission, his company owed the Fleet Corporation $250,000.

These instances disclose something of the voluminous muddle that faced the Chairman of the Shipping Board when he assumed control of this gigantic enterprise with the task of converting the American people to the idea of a practical ship subsidy plan.

AMERICA SUSPICIOUS OF THE WORD "SUBSIDY"

The word "subsidy," moreover, is generally regarded with inherent suspicion by the American mind. And in order to overcome that suspicion Mr. Lasker has patiently embarked upon a broadcast educational campaign that aims to impress upon the public and its Congressional representatives the changed economic conditions that require new measures. Mr. Lasker holds that, although the Republican Central West has ever joined with the Democratic South in distaste and revulsion to subsidizing our shipping, the present need is an all-American one, and should be treated as non-sectionally and as non-politically as the needs of the Army, Navy, or Post Office Department.

"Prior to the great World War America was content to have its cargoes carried in foreign bottoms," declares Mr. Lasker. "We were a debtor nation, and felt sure that those whom we owed, being the great maritime nations of the world, would furnish us the bottoms with which to carry the goods to liquidate our debts. But the World War has changed practically every phase of human life. America emerges from that war holding first economic place in the world. She finds herself a creditor nation instead of a debtor nation; and, whether we will it or no, we are now cast for continuing first place on the stage of world commerce. No nation ever held that position unless she was strong in her own rights on the seas. It is for us here and now to determine whether America shall attempt to refuse the place which destiny has carved out for her."

UNCLE SAM'S COMPETITION DEADLY TO PRIVATE SHIPS

When the Government undertook to sail merchant ships and to build up trade routes, its motive was solely to bring about conditions under which the ships on its hands could be sold with established good will to private owners. But the result, Mr. Lasker told me, has been exactly the opposite.

"The very method chosen has worked to defeat its own purpose," he said, "for in the upbuilding of those routes the Government has operated ships, and in the operation of ships has driven its potential customers largely off the seas. Thus we come to conclusions from which there can be no escape—that, since continued Government operation means finally the possible and likely elimination of private operation of American ships, a method must be devised whereby the Government shall end its operation and at the same time insure carriage of American goods under the American flag through private ownership as contemplated by the Jones Act.

"Europe owes us, governmentally and privately, some fifteen billion dollars. To pay in gold is impossible; there is not that much gold in the world. Europe can pay only in raw materials or in manufactured or partly manufactured wares. In turn, we must find new markets, not only to absorb the surplus products which Europe formerly took from us, but to provide for the sale of many of the products which Europe shall send to us in settlement of her debt. These products, if in raw or partly manufactured state, will be completed by American labor; but if permitted to flood our own market, and if we do not find a foreign sale for them, will so depress the price of wares at home as to threaten the prosperity of all of our workers.

"These newer markets lie across the ocean; and it is for these very markets that the nations of Europe which owe us vast sums of money will contend with us. And who can be so blind as not to see that Europe will very properly in her own interest find the ways and means to refuse us ships when we need them most, if that refusal spells her control of markets in which we would compete with her for mastery?

"There can be no return to a pre-war basis. Increased overheads through increased capacities demand increased consumption in many lines beyond that which can be found in our home country. The debts Europe owes us, their enforced economy for decades to come, and consequently finally diminishing purchases from us, all combine to require our search for new markets. These markets will inure to us only when sureness of delivery, regularity of sailings, and promptness of service from our ports to theirs are guaranteed."

A MONUMENT TO FOLLY

The Lasker programme concerns itself only with the correct balancing of the Government's fleet of steel ships and the reconditioning and repowering of these ships, and in some cases the remedying of structural defects. This job can be done at an estimated cost of about $25 to $50 per ton. The vast number of tons of wooden ships Mr. Lasker dismisses with the statement: "They never should have been built; they were the war's greatest shipping blunder, an error against which we had been warned, but which warning we refused to heed. They must be charged off practically as an entire loss, a monument to folly. They cannot be used in profitable normal operation, and merely hang over the market as possible pirates in times of better days, depressing thereby the potential value of the steel fleet without offering the slightest hope of continuous operation even for short periods. The high cost of insurance, the uneconomic machinery, the great amount of fuel required in proportion to carrying capacity, make these ships in every way

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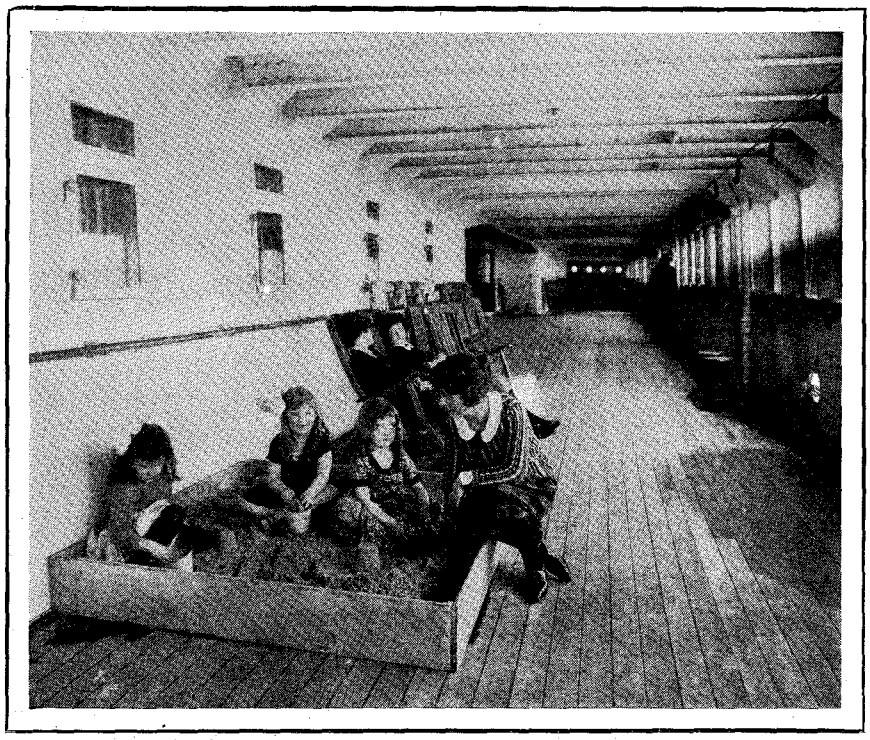

(C) Marine Photo Service

A DECK SCENE ON A SHIPPING BOARD PASSENGER VESSEL

Thought is given to the wee travelers in providing them with a sand-box

impossible. They should be considered as not existing.

"In passenger tonnage, both Governmental owned and privately owned and including ships designed for the short runs to the West Indies, we have but 80 good ships, aggregating 600,000 tons; while of fast cargo ships of both classes we have but 53 ships of 390,000 tons. To have a merchant marine that can effectively meet fifty per cent of all our peace-time carrying needs we require 1,250,000 gross tons of passenger ships and about the same amount of the faster cargo ships.

"Of our 6,000,000 tons of freighters, about half the steel tonnage is good tonnage, comparable to the best in the world. The other half ranges from fair to not usable for our purposes, and should be either sold abroad in such trades where we have every assurance it will not find itself in competition with our ships or dismantled. We must not fool ourselves."

CALLS GOVERNMENT OPERATION "INHERENTLY VICIOUS"

How are we actually faring in our competition with other nations in carrying ocean cargoes to and from American ports? Mr. Lasker tells me that last December, which is considered a normal recent month, foreign ships carried 76 per cent of our overseas general cargoes, while only 24 per cent was carried in American ships, of which 19 per cent was carried in Shipping Board vessels, and only 5 per cent by private American ship-owners. It is Mr. Lasker's aim, and he considers that the aim can be accomplished, for privately owned American ships within the next decade to be carrying at least 50 per cent of our foreign trade, other than with contiguous or near-by countries.

Chairman Lasker bluntly declares that Government operation of merchant ships is inherently vicious. When he took office in June, 1921, he found the ships of the fleet being operated by managing agents—that is to say, by private operators who received from 2½ to 5 per cent of the gross receipts for supervising the operation of the ships.

"This system," he declares, "is uneconomic and vicious, for the reason that the managing operator, having no direct interest in the operation of the ship, having no direct responsibility, having no sense of building for himself for the future, is in such state of mind that he operates Government-owned ships with vastly different vision and inspiration than he would his own.

"The system was open to all sorts of vagaries in management, to all kinds of chicane and unreliability. The managing operators had organized private stevedoring companies, private ship-chandlering companies, and similar devices by which to make hidden profits, to increase the meager compensation which the Government allowed them. The very spirit of making hidden profit on the part of an agent to a principal means a strained relationship all along the line. Such attitude and actions on the part of the managers were known to the captains and crews of the ships, who, in turn, felt neither pride nor proper responsibility in their trusteeship.

"Yet the individual agent cannot be chargeable with the fact that initiative and sense of responsibility are lacking in the transaction. It would be impossible. It is not within human realm to create in such a transaction a sense of initiative and responsibility. The only reason that the managing operator continues in his connection with the Board (and I think I speak the view of the managing operator that he believes as little in the system as any one) is that he hopes by co-operating with the Board in the management of the ships to keep alive America's merchant marine until Congress can adopt a National policy that will insure its life. The managing operator, strange as it may seem with the charges that are made against the system, is performing a really helpful service."

Mr. Lasker states that the defects of the system, so far as possible, have been eliminated; but that conditions are still basically bad, and will remain bad so long as Government operation continues. He points out why Government ownership of ships cannot possibly work out successfully.

"If the Government wanted to take over the railways," he explains, "it would create a monopoly which would give exclusive privilege to Government operation until such time as efficiency might be brought into life; but shipping is a different thing. The Government must always compete with the world's privately owned shipping. No monopoly can be created during the existence of which efficiency can be brought to life, and in the competition between Government ownership on the part of our Nation and the initiative and sense of responsibility due to private ownership in others failure is certain."

The efforts of the Shipping Board to place vessels in private hands on a bare-boat charter basis have been indifferently received.

"With world shipping depressed beyond anything ever known," explains Mr. Lasker, "with the fear of competitive Government operation financed out of the public treasury, with the bugaboo of a vast unliquidated Government-owned tonnage hanging over the market, charterer and buyer alike have become timid and find no incentive for risk. It is a drab picture, but we can only look forward to benefiting from the advantages of improved world trade conditions when they may come by now putting our house in order to transfer our operations and our fleet into private hands."

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OR BANKRUPTCY

"There is no future for the American merchant marine, private and Government, save bankruptcy, unless private ownership is fostered and expanded and the Government retire," contends Mr. Lasker. "We can no longer procrastinate. The Shipping Board's loss of $50,000,000 a year can be ended by a much lesser expense from the Treasury, through the direct and indirect aids proposed, and only in this way can the Government's good ships find a market by making private operation profitable. As quickly as possible the good ships

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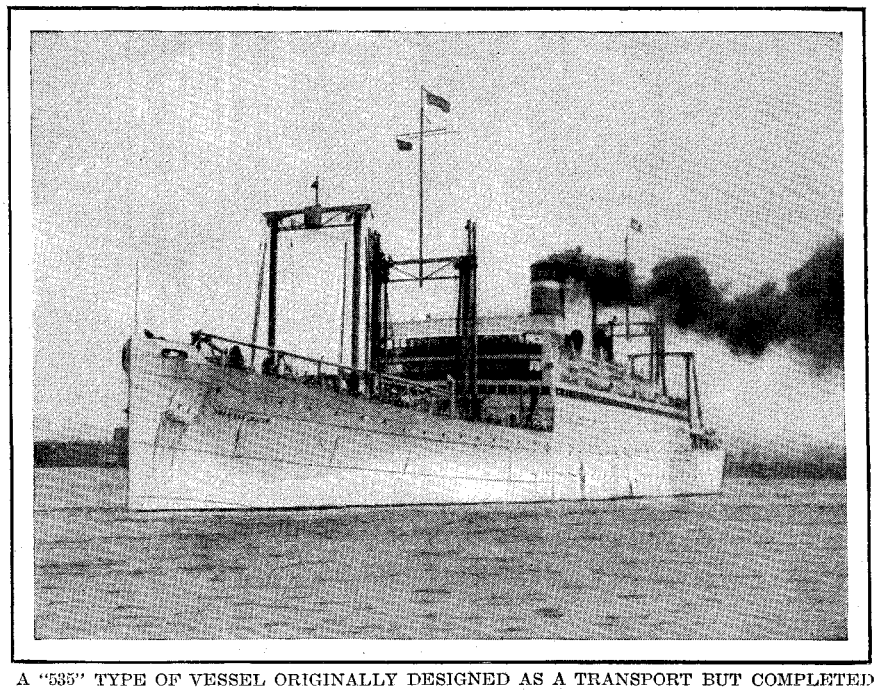
should be liquidated, the poor ships disposed of, the Government put out of operation. The President's proposals contemplate that at an ultimate maximum expenditure of $32,000,000 per annum in direct aid, and through various forms of indirect aid, we will finally dispose of our ships for private operation, at a total annual cost of something over $40,000,000; and thus shall we end an operating loss of $50,000,000, and give our people a better and a more assured service on the seas than America has ever enjoyed heretofore, successfully turning a war-time and war-built enterprise into a great instrument of peace-time profit and peace insurance.

"Private ships under the American flag must be Governmentally aided, because of the higher standards of living of American labor in the shipyard and on the ship," continued Mr. Lasker. "The man who builds ships on land works in America with a higher wage; the man who mans our ship is paid more and sustained better than the foreigner. Who in America would have it different? Who in America would question that the prosperity of one should be the common prosperity of all, and that these higher standards should prevail with all the people of our country?"



A "535" TYPE OF VESSEL ORIGINALLY DESIGNED AS A TRANSPORT BUT COMPLETED AS A PASSENGER AND FREIGHT SHIP BY THE SHIPPING BOARD

This type of vessel is operated to South America, to Europe, and to Oriental ports. The vessels represent the last word in safety

TERMS OF SUBSIDY PLAN

After a careful study of both the successes and failures of direct aid to private shippers on the part of other governments, the Shipping Board has caused a bill to be introduced in Congress which proposes definite Governmental aid to private shippers. The terms of the proposed subsidy include cash compensation to shippers, together with every practical indirect aid possible to give.

Discussing some of the features of the proposed subsidy bill, Mr. Lasker said: "This legislation proposes a very proper limitation—ten per cent on the earnings of ships, and after that equal division of earnings between the owner and the Merchant Marine Fund until the subsidy is returned. Surely, such an allowance of earnings cannot be called profiteering, because, while the ships are allowed a net profit of ten per cent before beginning to return the subsidy, and thereafter are allowed half the net profits until the entire amount of the subsidy is returned, nowhere in the Shipping Board study is it proposed that ships be protected against loss. Under the proposal made, including the right of the Shipping Board to make ten-year contracts, there will be many years during which, with all the aids given, ships will lose money, and it is universally conceded that in the shipping business, through the years of plenty and years of famine, the average that any ship can earn through the proposed Government aid during the term of its ten-year contract is a very modest sum.

"There is no hope of the establishment of a merchant marine through insufficient aid. Rather than insufficient aid let us have no aid at all. We must do enough or nothing. To do less than enough is merely to have sold out to the defeatists who would have no American merchant marine. But we should yield nothing to possible profiteering. The Shipping Board stands boldly in its affirmation that its study and its proposal, unique though it is, would accomplish these purposes.

"It is asked that the Shipping Board fleet be sold at world prices, regardless of cost of construction. The cost of construction is a war cost and should be written down to zero. Whatever we get out of the salvage is a profit."

A construction loan fund not to exceed $125,000,000 is proposed, the same to loan funds at interest rates as low as two per cent, to not more than two-thirds of the value of the ship. There is also an income-tax relief provision. Regulations are proposed that would insure to American-flag passenger ships at least fifty per cent of the immigration coming to this country. "Had such a provision been enacted during that pre-war period, when immigration was at its height—1,200,000 per annum," says Mr. Lasker, "and had half of that number of immigrants come in American-flag ships, the Shipping Board believes that, instead of having only fifteen passenger ships under the American flag in 1914, in the North Atlantic at least we would have had as many passenger ships of the third-class type as any nation in the world, Great Britain not excepted."

Subsidized vessels may be taken and purchased, or used, by the Government at any time for the National defense, according to the proposed legislation. All repairs or reconditioning, so far as possible, must be done in United States ports. The vessels shall carry United States mail, other than parcel post, free. Rail and water transportation are to be fully co-ordinated.

The direct aid is computed on a differential based on a combination of speed, tonnage, and distance covered, starting with a half-cent per gross ton per one hundred miles steamed in the foreign trade for ships under thirteen knots, and increasing to a total of 2.6 cents per gross ton per one hundred miles steamed for ships of twenty-three knots and over. It is estimated that in order to develop a balanced fleet of 7,500,000 gross tons, which should carry fifty per cent at least of all branches of our overseas trade, the cost to the Treasury will ultimately approximate $30,000,000, though for the first year it is estimated that the cost will be only $12,500,000. Contracts shall not exceed a ten-year period.

Mr. Lasker points out, however, that even under the most favorable circumstances a ship's fueling alone would cost about twice the sum that could be collected from the Government in cash compensation for any voyage, and that there is no fear that the small amount of the direct aid recommended would encourage inefficient or wasteful operation of ships.

One authority contends that the American capacity to absorb the products of our factories is only enough to pay the overhead expense of manufacture, and that American manufacturers must rely upon exports for their profits. If this is correct, then the Lasker effort to "sell" the Administration's ship subsidy plan to the public and to Congress has this additional impetus behind it. But, whatever happens to the plan, Chairman Lasker holds the distinction of having organized and energized one of the hugest selling plans on record.

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THE BOOK TABLE

BY BOOK OR BY CROOK?

BY ESTHER JOHNSTON

"PLEASE send me a Russian book for which I have many longings," wrote Mrs. Razansky, and Yetta, who brought the note, explained that her mother couldn't learn English "by the night school." She was too tired when she got the five children to bed. Such requests and such reasons for not learning English come daily to the library in a foreign neighborhood, while the cry, not a new one, to "make 'em learn English" comes stridently from another quarter.

With the new immigration, based on that percentage system which we Americans are applying to foreigners and intoxicants, books play a part in a better understanding between America and the immigrant. The immigrant has made his contribution to that understanding by making himself articulate in our language through M. E. Ravage, Jacob Riis, and a host of others. Americans have not taken the same pains to make themselves heard and understood in the languages of the foreigners. It is not unusual for the immigrant to appear at the library in a foreign quarter the day he arrives in America. He probably does not yet know English speech. He cannot yet read English books. But he has heard that the library has books in his language, and for that language he has "many longings." Even before he learns our speech, the foreigner makes a contact with a characteristic American institution where, although most of the books are in English, his own language is represented. Yet he will probably look in vain among the books he can read for any that interpret America.

An interest in foreign books brings many immigrants to the library. A desire to read English, while re-reading the books in the familiar native tongue, holds them there. Foreign books are an instance of the interest of the American community in what the immigrants bring with them. Newcomers who are drawn to the library for foreign books rarely leave without an English primer or grammar, and they are the most alert to learn the English language.

No doubt the German *verboten* had much to do with the tenacity of the French language in Alsace-Lorraine. A language thrives under persecution and is killed by kindness. Americans, conspicuously ill at ease with foreign languages, are unreasonably contemptuous of them. A small percentage of the American colony in Paris speaks French fluently. Yet the members of that colony are people of wealth, education, and comparative leisure. Since they find it difficult to acquire a foreign language, is it surprising that a tired sweatshop worker "by pants" or the mother of a large family learns slowly?

Long before they read English, immigrants are eager to know of this new and bewildering country. Since they have little direct contact with Americans, they must learn through books and newspapers of American ideas and ideals. Some of the languages of our immigrants are rich in translations of American books. The Czechs have translated many of our classics and have published them in the beauty of Bohemian binding and typography. French, German, and Italian have the many translations that one might expect, although not enough for the Continental demand.

Much of our new immigration comes from southeastern Europe, where the customs and thoughts of America are less known than in western Europe. Translations into their languages are very sparse. One of the large foreign branches of the New York Public Library which buys all good translations of representative American books in Russian and Yiddish can gather only a meager collection for readers who clamor for more of our books. The novels in Russian now include some of Jack London's, but formerly stopped with "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "The Last of the Mohicans," from which an ignorant but curious foreigner might judge that we are of two races, the black and the red. The one book descriptive of the country is the tale of Gorky's travels in America. There are no translations of representative biographies.

Yiddish is the foreign language that predominates in New York, leaving its uncouth trace on the accent of New York. However it may assail the ear, it is a medium upon which thousands of immigrants depend.

"I dislike the language," an East Side educator told me, "but I can't let a personal aversion prevent my using it. I dislike the telephone, too; but if I've an important message—if there's something that really must be told—I use the telephone. So with Yiddish, or any other foreign language. If an idea is important, use the language that will put it across."

Presumably there is something important to tell the immigrant. He is questioning and curious about this land of his aspirations, of which the reality is often so disappointing. He wants to know about the America of the prairies and lakes, mountains and desert, so remote from the crowded, jostling Little Italies and Ghettos where he lives. He wants to know of the America of Lincoln and Washington and Roosevelt, of Whitman and Hawthorne, of Sinclair Lewis and Edgar Lee Masters. Yet it is easier for him to learn of the murders and thefts, municipal corruption and crimes of capital. He who rides on the subway may read of these in every foreign language as well as in English.

A correspondent who crossed in the steerage wrote of the opportunity of the passage for informing the citizen about America. But that information can be given only in the immigrant's language, and the translation of American books into Yiddish has proceeded very slowly. Biographies and histories and novels of American life should be made available. A translation of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" would be vastly more interesting to the intellectual Jewish immigrant than the childish civics books in primer English so often urged upon the foreigner. Lincoln is the hero of incoming Europeans. A translation of Charnwood's "Lincoln," with its wide sweep of American history and politics, would be more acceptable to the average Jewish reader than an English biography written in the first-steps-for-little-feet style.

The foreigner wants his English lessons, and will be driven to get them by self-interest as well as by community interest. He also wants to know more about the spirit of America than he can read after a few weeks of laborious English. Books that combine English and civics are written for foreigners with limited intelligences as well as vocabularies. Well, really, it shouldn't follow that a man must be lectured like a child about his civic duties while he's learning a language.

Recently children in a foreign class were asked to tell their nationalities. One answered that his father was born in Russia but that *he* was anæmic. Unhappily, the answer is not as absurd as it seems. Children of immigrant parents suffer from mental malnutrition, from inability to absorb all that is fed them, from growing too rapidly away from the home environment. When parents cannot speak English, they fall in the estimation of their children, who see them unable to cope with their American neighbors. When parents are, in addition, ignorant of American ways and ideals, which are partly interpreted through books, children can impose upon that ignorance a cheapness and aggressiveness which they explain as "American." It is, they point out plausibly, the "greeny" who is courteous and quiet of speech and manner. It is the second generation that suffers most from the lack of understanding between their parents and the New World.

Books, even in the language of the immigrant, are not a panacea for putting the older immigrant at his ease in America. But they are potent in explaining this strange land, so often cruelly different from the land of his dreams and ambitions. Books will put older men and women into contact with a life of which their children, if not they themselves, are to be a part. For

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many adults who do not go "by the night school" the foreign newspaper and the cinema are now the only interpreters.

If the mothers could read in the familiar language such books as Alcott's "Little Women," Shaw's "Story of a Pioneer," Garland's "Son of the Middle Border," "Life of Alice Freeman Palmer," Canfield's "Bent Twig," Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," they would form a different opinion of American home life and social relations. If fathers born in eastern Europe found the new land interpreted through Charnwood's "Lincoln," Muzzey's "American History," Hagedorn's "Boy's Life of Roosevelt," Roosevelt's "Letters to His Children," Harte's "Luck of Roaring Camp," Clemens's "Huckleberry Finn" and "Tom Sawyer," would they not be more understanding of the citizenship for which their sons are preparing?

During the last few years we have heard much of Americanization—a word charged with unfortunate implications for foreigners. Before we attempt to make citizens of our foreign-born let us make available to them part of our heritage—the America of the Transcendentalists as well as the America of Main Street, the rough and democratic America of Mark Twain and Walt Whitman, the New York of O. Henry, the biographies of men and women who have made America. A foreign reader who returned an English biography of Roosevelt to the library said that he wished it might be translated to show the nature-loving, outdoor American in contrast to the materialistic American whose undesirable acquaintance the immigrant makes almost immediately.

Certain books have crept into the fabric of our lives and thoughts. Let us urge their translation into the languages of our immigrants, so that foreigners may have a fair chance to supplement the cinema with the earlier and more faithful interpreters of life.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

BEST LAID SCHEMES. By Meredith Nicholson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Good-natured and humorous short stories, among which "The Susiness of Susy" and "The Girl with the Red Feather" are capital examples of the author's vivacity and originality.

KINGFISHER (THE). By Phyllis Bottome. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.

Jim Barton, a boy convict, then a "hand" on a barge, becomes in time an English university man and is loved by an exquisite, flower-like maiden of the luxurious class. The possibilities of such a situation are obvious and are cleverly worked out by the author of "The Dark Tower" and other popular novels.

LADY BOUNTIFUL. By G. A. Birmingham. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.75.

Canon Hannay, under his well-known pseudonym, tells with gusto these stories of Irish inconsistency, warm-heartedness, and adaptability. Some of them are pure farce, but nearly all are good fun; one only is bitter with the tragedy of factional hate.

LINDA LEE, INCORPORATED. By Louis Joseph Vance. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.

A tale of Hollywood and the movie colony.

PIRATE'S HOPE. By Francis Lynde. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.75.

A variation of the theme of Barrie's "The Admirable Crichton," with the addition of a buried treasure (two, in fact—one ancient, one modern) and with a clever twist of the plot whereby the hero's plan to maroon his society friends on a desert island to test their character is turned into serious reality.

SUNDRY ACCOUNTS. By Irvin S. Cobb. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $2.

Readable short tales by an always popular story-teller. They abound in humor and character drawing.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

FRANK OF FREEDOM HILL. By Samuel A. Devieux. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City. $1.75.

The author of this series of stories understands dogs and understands boys. He has made free use of his imagination, and it has enabled him to interpret the unspoken language of the dog without attributing to him a fanciful intellectual life. The stories are vivid without being fanciful, dramatic without being sensational, and sympathetic without being sentimental. They are realism illuminated by intelligent sympathy. They will interest, not only boys, but no less all understanding grown-ups.

TONY SARG MARIONETTE BOOK (THE). By F. J. McIsaac. B. W. Huebsch, New York. $1.

This small volume, primarily for children, although grown-ups will be bound to find something of interest in it, receives added value from the grotesque sketches by Tony Sarg. The text explains how children may make a marionette set of their own and work it. Added to this are two plays written particularly for marionettes and sufficiently simple to be presented by children. The entire volume is a charmingly conceived effort completed in the most satisfactory manner.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS (THE). Vol. XII. Edited by James Hastings. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $8.

This volume, with the exception of the index volume, completes a work of importance and value to all students of religion and of ethics. As recorded in The Outlook from time to time since 1909, when the first volume appeared, this encyclopædia is comprehensive and scholarly. It covers a field which, so far as we know, is not exactly covered by any other work of its kind. This concluding volume contains such important subjects as "Suffering" (the first article in the volume) as a problem in ethics and in theology; "Sun, Moon, and Stars" as objects of worship and wonder in all portions of the globe; "Taoism," "Teleology," "Theism," "Theology," "Theosophy," "Time," "Transmigration," "Universalism," "Unitarianism," "Validity," "Vows," "War," "Wealth," "Worship," "Young Men's Christian Association," "Zionism," and closes with "Zwingli." It covers such unexpected subjects as "Tattooing" (here spelled Tatuing), "Trees and Plants," and "Yawning." The emphasis in this encyclopædia is not upon theology. For example, the article upon "Trinity" is comparatively brief, occupying barely more than four pages; whereas "Taoism," a religious but in the strict sense a non-theological subject, occupies fourteen pages. The twelve volumes constitute a great work of reference—the product of the research of many scores of scholars. In such an encyclopædia as this there is not only technical information for students and users of a theological work for professional purposes, but also a vast amount of curious and interesting information which ought to appeal to a very much wider circle of readers.

CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY

RABBI SAMUEL SCHULMAN was born in Russia, but has lived the greater part of his life in America. At the present time he is rabbi of the Temple of Beth-El, in New York. He is President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and a member of the Board of Editors of the English translation of the Bible for the Synagogue. He has been a rabbi in Helena, Montana, and in Kansas City, Missouri. His articles and pamphlets on religious subjects have been widely read.

SENATOR DAVENPORT, by serving as a mechanic in a large Syracuse factory during the summer of 1920, gained a sympathetic knowledge of the American industrial worker and his needs. Mr. Davenport is a member of the New York Senate and Professor of Law and Politics at Hamilton College. His home is in Clinton, New York.

NEWTON FUESSLE contributes an article of importance and special timeliness. Mr. Fuessle made a trip to Washington to interview Mr. Lasker personally, and got at first hand the information contained in this article. The Outlook will publish in an early issue his story of the Government's activities in road building.

C. K. TAYLOR in his article "The Girl and Her Muscle" provides further ammunition for our height-weight controversialists. Still another article from his pen will appear in The Outlook very shortly.

HAROLD TROWBRIDGE PULSIFER is the author of a book of poems published by Houghton Mifflin Company entitled "Mothers and Men."

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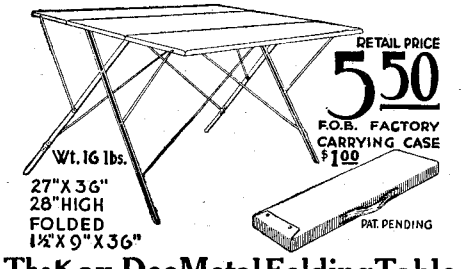

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BY THE WAY

THOMAS LINCOLN and Nancy Hanks, the parents of Abraham Lincoln, were married June 12, 1806, by the Rev. Jesse Head, in Washington County, Kentucky. Little has been known of this hardy pioneer preacher. His grave and that of his wife, Jane Ramsey, have been discovered in a corner of the cemetery in the old town of Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Dr. William E. Barton, author of "The Soul of Abraham Lincoln," through whose effort this discovery has been made, proposes that the grave be now marked with a modest stone before the memory forever passes. No elaborate monument is desired or is desirable, but it is thought that a good many people would gladly give $1 toward such a memorial. Miss Mary A. Stephenson, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, is treasurer of the Fund and will acknowledge subscriptions if an addressed postal card or self-addressed stamped envelope is inclosed.

From the New York "Sun:"

"You haven't much space for a garden here, old man."

"I have all I need. You've no idea how much backache you can get out of a few square feet of ground."

From "Simplicissimus:"

"But, papa, why take my debts so tragically? I assure you, by hard work, strict economy, and the utmost self-denial you will succeed in clearing them off."

Can a blind man tell the denomination of bills by feeling them? Probably not; but many sightless persons can count their money accurately. An instance is cited in the "American Magazine," in the case of a well-known blind physician of Chicago, Dr. Robert H. Babcock. He was paying his hotel bill. It amounted to $9.60. He reached into a trousers pocket. "There's your sixty cents," he said. He then took a roll of bills from his vest pocket. "There," he said, peeling off a bill, "is a five; there's a two; there are two ones. Is that correct?" It was. A man stepped up and said: "Pardon me, sir, but there are several of us gentlemen over here who would like to know how you were able to tell, by the feel, the denomination of those bills." Dr. Babcock did not relish the abrupt question from a stranger. "If any fool tells you," he answered, "that a blind man can distinguish a five-dollar bill from a ten-dollar bill by the feel of it, you can tell him he's a liar!" The fact is that Dr. Babcock remembers the denominations of the bills given to him and puts them in his pocket in a certain order.

Dr. Babcock, the above-quoted article goes on, doesn't like to make mysteries out of the astonishing things that a blind man with acutely trained senses can do. One of his office associates was asked by him one day how a bottle of ink came to be spilled in a closet in his office. The closet was dark, and his

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associate had to light a match and get down on his hands and knees to find out that ink had actually been spilled there. The incident puzzled him. A day or two later he said: "Doctor, there is one mystery that is bothering me, and I wish you would clear it up. How in the world did you know there was ink on the floor in that closet?" "Why, there's no mystery about that," Dr. Babcock replied; "I *smelled* it!"

Great numbers of British war vessels have been junked since the armistice, the "Scientific American" says; a single firm last year bought no fewer than five battleships, twelve cruisers, and seventy-five destroyers in one block from the Admiralty. As a matter of fact, the British market for scrap metals has become overstocked, and 200,000 tons of obsolete British war vessels have been purchased by German firms who needed scrap steel. "Thus, by the irony of fate," adds the "Scientific American," "the British Navy is contributing directly to the restoration of German trade." But the Germans can get no possible warlike utility out of these vessels, for all the guns, ordnance equipment, and confidential instruments are removed before the ship is handed over.

Years ago, says the article quoted above, it was customary to use explosives for breaking up the decks and wrenching apart the stout scantlings of condemned ships, but dynamite has now been superseded by the all-conquering oxy-acetylene torch, which cuts through stout plating like a knife through cheese. Gangs of torch operators swarm over the hull, cutting it down deck by deck. Massive machinery and heavy castings are broken up by the "skull-cracker," a primitive but effective device by which an iron ball, weighing anything up to two tons, is hoisted by a crane to a height of sixty or seventy feet and then dropped with a tremendous impact which splinters the hardest metal like glass.

An unusual card of thanks is quoted as appearing in the Newburgh (Oregon) "Graphic." It reads:

> I wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to all those who contributed to the comfort of my brother during his illness and assisted his family in their bereavement; and to all those who profited by their misfortune would refer for consolation to the 14th verse of the 23rd chapter of the gospel according to St. Matthew.

A hospital patient who had to have his stomach washed out with a weak solution of permanganate of potash, a contributor to the Manchester "Guardian" says, chanced to catch sight of the word "Poison" on the bottle. The following occurred:

Patient—"Say, doc, that's poison you're doping me with."

Doctor (showing label on bottle)—"That's so, but you see it's only one in 12,000."

Patient (turning white and gulping)—"But, good Lord, doc, I might be that one."

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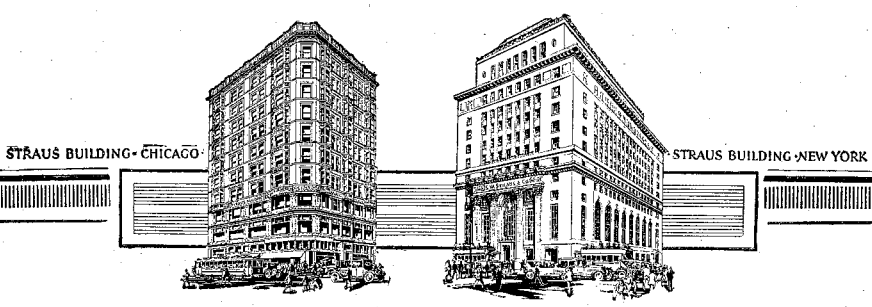
BUSINESS STABILITY

IN a town of the writer's acquaintance there has been a great shortage of houses, principally dwelling-houses. Rents consequently have been high, for rentals, like other things, are subject to the law of supply and demand and are fixed by the demand for houses and the adequacy of the supply. The situation has for several years been serious. Business has suffered as a result of the shortage of dwellings, the normal activities of the town have been hampered, many of the citizens have been hard put to it to find a place to live, and when a house has been available the rent oftentimes has been more than they could well afford to pay.

More houses of course is the solution of such a problem, but building costs have also been high, and, though many people have wanted to build, there has been little inducement to do so, either for investment or for the purpose of providing homes for themselves. In order to correct this state of affairs the local contractors' association, in the autumn of 1921, called a meeting of the heads of the various local unions and asked them to



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reduce wage scales, so as to bring building costs within the reach of those who wished to build. The unions considered the matter, and decided that it was better for their men to work at lower wages than to hold out for the same high wages which had been in effect previously and remain idle. Which was good common sense.

An agreement was therefore signed, to remain in effect until the early summer of 1923, and the unions bound themselves not to demand any increase before that time. Labor costs constitute the largest percentage of the expense of any building operation, and with the reductions agreed upon the contractors were enabled to quote prices which were attractive to prospective builders. A large number of contracts were signed almost immediately and the town entered upon unprecedented building activity. Every contractor was busy, every mason and carpenter and painter was employed, and houses were started in all sections of the town. The end of the difficulty seemed to be in sight.

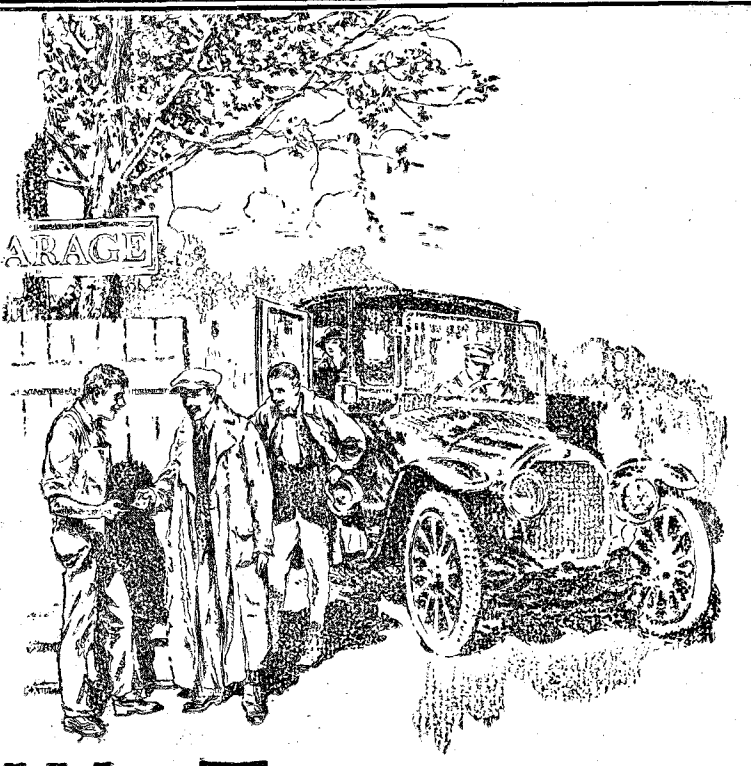
About a fortnight ago, however, the masons', plasterers', and bricklayers' unions decided that with so many houses partially completed the time was favorable to demand an increase in wages. They therefore notified the contractors that unless the desired increase was forthcoming they would call a strike. The contractors naturally were thunderstruck. They had contracted to build houses at prices fixed by the agreement which the unions had signed. They themselves had signed in good faith, and had considered that the unions had done likewise. To add to their confusion they learned that the other unions—the carpenters', steam-fitters', etc.,—were only awaiting an answer to the plasterers', bricklayers', and masons' demands before making similar demands themselves.

Under the circumstances there was but one thing to do, and the contractors did it. They shut down on all work. Building operations in the town are at an absolute standstill. Unfinished houses are to be encountered in all sections of the borough, and no one can guess when they will be completed.

Of course there is no excuse for the action of the unions. They were guilty of a flagrant breach of good faith. The citizens to a man are backing the contractors and the unions will undoubtedly be the sufferers in the long run.

The real point of this little story is, however, that business is good when people doing business know what they can count upon. In the town we mention building was slack because no one knew what costs were going to be from month to month. Contractors could not give definite estimates, and naturally no one is going to build a house without a pretty definite idea of what the final cost is to be. The minute the unions agreed to a settled and reasonable wage scale the building business boomed. Now things are all upset again and building has stopped.

What the building trades unions did



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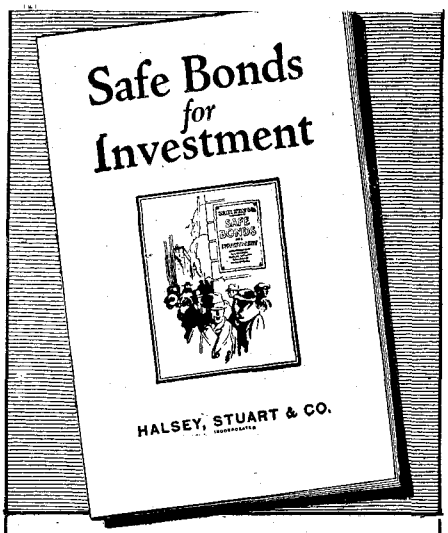

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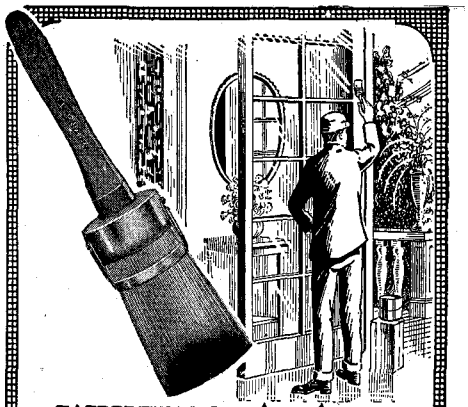
in this small town many other unions have done in other places. And strikes cause uncertainty, and uncertainty makes for instability, which is the greatest depressor of business known. Our whole social system is a vast interdependent organization; it is dependent upon good faith, fair dealing, and an unprejudiced view of mutual interests.

The post-war depression period unsettled prices, and the task of the business world has been to bring them back to a more or less permanent and fixed basis. It does not matter so much what prices are so long as they are reasonably stable and not in a constant state of flux. An illustration of this is furnished by the international exchanges. In itself the fact that a German mark is quoted at thirty-five-hundredths of a dollar is not so important. The important question is, What is a German mark going to be worth six months from now, or a year, or two years? If that point can be settled with a fair degree of accuracy, business in marks can be done. But no sane man is going to sell goods when he has no idea whether the money he agrees to accept for them is going to be worth anything or not. Nor will be buy unless he knows what he will have to pay.

It is the same in all business. Orders must be received before the factories can operate, and business men will not order far in advance unless they know what they are going to have to pay, and whether that will be the price then obtaining for the particular kind of goods they want. Many of our industries have been so demoralized during the past year that sometimes a half-dozen salesmen would offer the same goods on the same day at six different prices. Industry and business must be balanced and orderly if prosperity is to result. Business men want to know where they stand on prices, and the public is entitled to know where it stands on unwarranted strikes. Most people recognize the duty of others, but are slow to acknowledge their own. The masons' union will fight to the last ditch for an increase in the wages of its own members, and those same men will complain bitterly about the prices they have to pay members of the plumbers' union for repairing a pipe in their kitchen.

Generally, however, business is ironing out the wrinkles in its working clothes. Prices are readjusting themselves, money is easier, with falling interest rates, so that business can afford to borrow the capital it needs to supply its wants. Stocks of goods on hand have been pretty well used up, but human wants are endless and must be satisfied, and this creates demand, and demand makes for business activity. Present stocks of foodstuffs and raw materials used in industry are not large; the same is true of clothing materials, of metals of many kinds, of farm products. This means that business activity will be needed to replenish the depleted stocks, and these orders will carry us



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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT
(*Continued*)

farther along the readjustment highway. Foreign trade is improving, and it will mean prosperity to business if we can carry on business dealings with other countries than our own. And as the foreign exchanges grow stronger foreign buyers are enabled to buy more and more in our markets.

In other words, what business needs above everything else is stability. People want to know where they stand. What man will order his next winter's supply of coal delivered to him on October 1 and agree to pay the price obtaining on that date unless he knows fairly accurately what that price is going to be? But confidence in the future of prices is growing; in spite of temporary setbacks, the business situation is, on the whole, becoming more favorable from month to month; and most people feel themselves warranted in believing that things will soon be pretty well settled and that they can count on what there is ahead. That means confidence, and widespread confidence in the future of business means prosperity.

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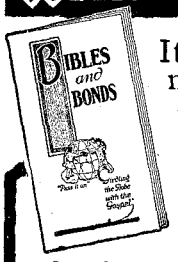

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